

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



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who folds a leaf downey: diuel toaste browne  
who makes marke or blottey: diuel roaste hot  
who stealeth thisse boke yf diuel shall cooke.





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ALLIANCE

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KING VICTOR EMMANUEL.



# ITALY

AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

By

W. O. PITT

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## INTRODUCTORY



## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

**N**OT long ago an American journalist wrote that it was high time the nations of Europe ceased disputing as to who caused the war; the thing sensible people wanted to know was, who was going to end it. The common sense of the observation does not redeem it from cynical flippancy and untruth. From time immemorial the human heart has cherished the belief that the just cause will eventually triumph. The ideal underlying the old system of trial by combat still exists to-day. As a nation we rightly lay stress on the fact that we have gone to war with clean hands, in support of our promise to a small and struggling nation oppressed by a big and powerful one. We claim that our righteous cause is a buckler for each of our soldiers, and a comfort to those who mourn their

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heroic dead. The same claim is made by the nations that are fighting side by side with us ; they fight for the weak against the insolently strong, for the side of right against armed might.

The intervention of Italy into the conflict is obviously a potent factor—it may well be a deciding factor—in the Great War.

The war strength of the Italian Army is estimated at 1,200,000 men of the first line ; 700,000 of the standing army, and 500,000 fully trained reserves. The second line, known as the mobile militia, consists of 250,000 partially trained men of active age, ranging from twenty-nine to thirty-three. The territorial militia, corresponding to the German Landsturm, contains roughly 2,000,000 men, the majority of whom have been subjected to military training, and who constitute a highly efficient force for all purposes of home defence, guarding communications, etc. The Italian soldiers are armed with a new pattern of rifle known as the Mannlicher Carcano, of .256 inch calibre, with a magazine containing six rounds. The approved pattern of field gun is of the same type as that of France, of



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75 mm. bore, quick firing, and known as the *Deport*.

For the nine months following the outbreak of war every nerve was strained to bring this force up to the maximum of efficiency and equipment, the training and organization being supervised by General Cadorna, the Italian Commander-in-Chief; and also receiving the personal attention of the King himself. As they recently proved in the Tripolitan war, the troops of the new Italian army fight with great dash and precision; and their cavalry is estimated by experts to have no superior in the world.

The principal ships of the battle fleet were :—

### BATTLESHIPS.

Completed:	Name:	Tonnage.	Main Armour (in.)	Guns:
1912	Dante Alighieri*	19,400	10	{ 12 12-in. 20 4.7-in. Q.
1914	Conte di Cavour*	22,340	10	{ 13 12-in. 18 4.7-in. Q.
1913	Leonardo-da-Vinci*			
1913	Giulio Cesare*			
1915	Caio Duilio*.	22,340	10	{ 13 12-in. 16 6-in. Q.
1915	Andrea Doria*			
1904	Benedetto Brin.	13,214	6	{ 4 12-in. 4 8-in. Q. 12 6-in. Q.
1904	Regina Margherita			

\* Dreadnoughts.

## ITALY AND THE

1907	Regina Elena . . .	12,425	10	{ 2 12-in. 12 8-in. Q.
1908	Vittorio			
	Emanuele . . .			
1908	Napoli . . .			
1909	Roma . . .	9,645	9½	{ 4 10-in. 8 6-in. Q. 8 4.7-in. Q.
1901	A. di St. Bon . .			
1902	Emanuele . . .			
	Filiberto			

### ARMoured CRUISERS.

1897	Vettor Pisani . . .	6,396	4½-6	{ 12 6-in. Q. 6 4.7-in. Q.
1898	Carlo Alberto . .			
1900	Varese . . .	7,294	6	{ 1 10-in. Q. 2 8-in. Q. 14 6-in. Q.
1901	Giuseppe			
	Garibaldi			
1904	Francesco			
	Ferruccio	9,956	8	{ 4 10-in. 8 7.5-in. Q.
1909	Pisa . . .			
1909	Amalfi . . .			
1910	San Giorgio . . .			
1910	San Marco . . .	9,832		

These vessels were distributed as follows :—

#### FIRST FLEET.

*Battleships*.—Dante Alighieri, Leonardo da Vinci, G. Cesare.

*Cruisers*.—Garibaldi, Verese, Perruccio.

*Gunboats*.—N. Bixio, Agordat, Coatit.

*Torpedo-boat Destroyers*.—Eight.

#### SECOND FLEET.

*Battleships*.—Regina Elena, V. Emanuele, Roma, Napoli.

*Cruisers*.—Amalfi, San Giorgio.

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*Light Cruisers*.—Liguria, Quarto, Marsala.

*Torpedo-boat Destroyers*.—Eight.

### TORPEDO FLOTILLAS.

*Torpedo-boat Destroyers*.—Twenty.

*High Sea Torpedo-boats*.—Twenty-eight, with the parent cruiser, Vettor Pissani.

### TRAINING SQUADRON.

*Battleships*.—Regina Margherita, B. Brin, E. Filiberto.

*Cruisers*.—San Marco, C. Alberto.

*Light Cruiser*.—Liguria.

### IN RESERVE.

*Battleship*.—St. Bon.

*Minelayers*.—Six.

*Cruiser*.—Lombardia.

*Coastal Torpedo-boats*.—Fifty-six.

*Submarines*.—Eighteen.

Italy also maintained ships in foreign waters: The cruiser Marco Polo and a gunboat in China Seas; a gunboat on the American coast; and the cruiser Piemonte and a gunboat in the Indian Ocean.

These are enormous material considerations; the moral consideration of Italy's support is no less. Italy at first withheld from a conflict in which she was bound by treaty to take part with Germany and Austria, had those powers been the subject of armed aggression. Her preservation of neutrality was, in the first place, a damning if silent criticism of the part played by Austria and Germany in breaking the world's

## ITALY AND THE

peace. From neutrality Italy has passed to intervention, taking up arms against her former allies. It might be contended, with much force, that not even a promise had power to bind Italy to so monstrous a cause as that adopted by the two nations of Central Europe.

At the very outset of the war, however, Italy laid down, with the utmost frankness, the considerations upon which her actions in this great world emergency would be based. Her statesmen declared that all their energies would be expended in conserving Italian interests, that Italy's neutrality would be preserved unless the interests of Italy herself called for armed intervention.

The history of Italy during the last century, in which she struggled to a place among the Great Powers of Europe, will afford excellent reasons for this decision. The people of Italy were possessed with the most ardent desire for national existence and constitutional government when Italy was a collection of petty kingdoms and duchies governed by foreign princelings, kept on their thrones by the armed tyranny of an aggressive foreign power. No friendly



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power actively intervened to help the Italian people in their great struggle for unity against overwhelming odds, except for its own great material advantage. It stands to the credit of our own country that the strong moral support of Great Britain was the one rock upon which Italy could rest in her worst time of trial ; but it was only moral support and sympathy.

The genius and audacity of her great statesman Cavour, who sent Italian soldiers to fight side by side with French and British in the Crimea, won from the powers a careless consideration of Italy's wrongs. Her subsequent treatment may be gathered from the pages of this book. She saw her own long seaboard menaced on all sides by the gradual encroachment of other nations, and was powerless to resist. At last Italy was driven into an alliance with her ancient and natural enemy, an alliance repugnant to the sentiment and racial impulse of the Italian people. Only by this method could the country gain the breathing space required for legitimate national expansion.

That Alliance was faithfully observed in all its terms by Italy, to her own disadvantage, as shall be shown. An equally faithful

## ITALY AND THE

observance of its terms was demanded from the other contracting parties, and it was found impossible to obtain such observance. The interests of Italy finally required that observance of the treaty should be enforced by an appeal to arms, and, on May 24, 1915, Italy declared war on Austro-Hungary. It was then that her frank declaration was seized upon by her quondam allies and twisted into a confession of venality; that Italy was taunted with the treachery of departing from her pledged word and selling herself to the highest bidder.

These accusations and insults have been followed by the publication of documentary evidence, including the hitherto secret clauses of the Treaty of the Triple Alliance, so that the world may judge on which side truth and right rest. It is shown that Austria, equally with Germany, has been false to her Treaty obligations, and that the whole onus of blame for the breach of the Triple Alliance rests with her. The Italian Green Book is, in its way, as merciless an exposure of Teuton trickery and bad faith as our own White Book. Self-protection forced Italy into a war to which she was impelled by sentiment, and into which

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she enters with hands as clean as those of the nations by the side of which she is now ranged.

Italy's quarrel is with Austria, and it is a quarrel that extends over a century. Not a year of those hundred has not given Italy some strong reason for just resentment against Austria. For the first half of the hundred years Austrian troops held Italy in bondage to the worst form of tyrannical misgovernment that disfigured Europe during the nineteenth century, by cruelties almost too hideous for realization. Throughout the second part of the hundred years, Austria has ruled a province of Italy with an iron hand, maintaining it by armed force as a constant menace to the peace of Italy. Italy has been made the plaything of the Powers, forced in sheer self-protection into an unnatural alliance with her most bitter foe, and threatened on all sides by the stealthy approach of her rivals to her long, defenceless seaboard.

Throughout her struggle for very existence, Italy has been loyal to her friends, wherever she could find them. She has fought her way to national existence, and to something like national prosperity,

## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

through unexampled difficulties. Now, freed from her unnatural alliance, and mindful of her ancient and glorious heritage, she has cast in her lot with those who are fighting for freedom. Her first battlefield is in the still unredeemed provinces of Italy, her first enemy her ancient oppressor, Austria.

ITALY AND AUSTRIA





## CHAPTER II

### ITALY AND AUSTRIA

**W**HEN Napoleon “freed” Italy—his own expression—he swept away a whole host of little Austrian princelets to the fastnesses of Central Europe. He created an era of wild disturbance for the Italians, erecting republics, and then blotting them out of existence to substitute monarchies in their stead. He established the Pope more firmly in his temporal power, and afterwards reversed the process by annexing the Papal States and carrying off their ruler, a prisoner, to Fontainebleau. He crowned himself King of Italy with the iron crown of the Lombards ; he set up first his brother, then Murat, as King of Naples.

The Italians groaned at the heavy taxation he imposed, at the introduction of French law, at the cost of the public works he undertook. When he fell Italy rejoiced no less than the rest of Europe, lighting bon-

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fires and ringing bells to celebrate the downfall of the tyrant. There was talk of freedom throughout the peninsula—until after the Vienna Congress. Metternich summarized his work at that gathering by saying that Italy was reduced to “a geographical expression”; and the description was an accurate one. After this lapse of time it is difficult to imagine what Italy expected; it is painfully easy to outline what Italy got.

The Vienna Congress delivered her over to Austria bound hand and foot for Austria to use as she might please. Even before the Congress, the procession back to Italy of the dispossessed began. In 1814 the Pope returned from Fontainebleau to Rome; that Pope Pius VII who had said to the Doge of Venice, “There is nothing Italian left in Italy except my tiara and your ducal hat.” He was followed by many princes, Austrians and Bourbons, as soon as the Congress had concluded.

Victor Emmanuel returned from Sardinia to Piedmont, and added the old Republic of Genoa to his kingdom. From his hiding-place at Wurzburg, Ferdinand of Tuscany crept back to Florence, and Francis IV reappeared at Modena. Parma was reserved

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for the Austrian Archduchess Marie Louise, a former consort of Napoleon. Austria had reserved for herself Lombardy and Venetia, two rich prizes cut out of the most fertile part of Italy.

In Naples Murat, who had betrayed his former master, made a stand for Italian nationalism. An Austrian army was sent to support Ferdinand of Bourbon, and against its power he could make no stand; eventually he was captured and shot. A draft of German troops was sent to help Ferdinand hold his kingdom, and Austrian garrisons were admitted to the strong towns of the Neapolitan kingdom.

Before two years had passed Italy was bitterly regretting the old French rule, with its equal justice for all. The princelets were mere puppets, and Metternich pulled the strings that moved them from his chamber in Vienna. The French had given as well as taken; the Austrians only existed in order to exact.

Indeed, Italy had gained more from Napoleon than either the Italians or the French had dreamed at the time. He had found it a meek collection of fifteen small kingdoms, and had reduced the number to

three ; by this single act implanting in the Italians the instinct for Unity. He had built excellent roads and bridges, and so had bridged more than rivers, for he had established closer connection between men of the same race who served different rulers. He had swept away the complicated, unjust, and varying Italian legal procedure, and substituted the French code with its equal justice for all, rich and poor alike. He had imposed heavy taxes, it is true, but the incidence of taxation was spread equitably over the whole community. He had taken education out of the hands of the clerics, and introduced reasonable and enlightened teaching.

He was overthrown, but he left behind him in Italy the germinating seeds of freedom. The leaven had begun to work in Italy long before the French were driven out. Men had begun to meet secretly, and ask why they should submit to the rule of the foreigner. They murmured at the street corners of the cities of the taxes they had to pay, of the wrong it was that one of the oldest nations of the world should so be held in thralldom. Their secret meetings resulted in the establishment of a secret



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

society, the members of which called themselves the Carbonari—the Charcoal-burners. The name and the ritual they claimed to have derived from a very ancient German society of Kohlen-brenner, a society with political aims that had existed in the eleventh century.

The Carbonari first made their existence known in Naples, where the protection of Malghella, Murat's Minister of Police, gave them a strong place. They relied upon such ceremonies as were calculated to impress the superstitious and ignorant; midnight initiations with fearful oaths, and a hideous symbolism of axes and blocks. Their avowed object was the freedom and independence of Italy; they sought to compass it by ill-concerted action on their own part, and by exercising terrorism on persons who were not members of their society.

Austrian methods of government were well calculated to encourage such conspiracy and secret plotting. Austria had but one method; the method of repression. It was soon established in all parts of Italy. All educated and liberal-minded men were suspect for the very reason of their

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qualities, and therefore were spied upon incessantly. A stringent passport system was instituted everywhere, and the Press was deprived of all semblance of free expression of opinion. The right of public gathering was restricted to the very utmost limit, the right of unfettered speech did not exist, even in private.

The cities swarmed with police spies, men of the lowest class and armed with undefined powers. To counter the Carbonari, secret societies were instituted such as that of the Calderai del Contrapeso—Braziers of the Counterpoise. Their members were the veriest assassins and robbers; the object of the society was to exterminate the Carbonari by any means, murder not being barred. Excesses were committed on both sides, but the protection of the Courts was only exercised to the detriment of the Carbonari. In spite of the restrictions placed upon their meetings and upon their very existence, the Carbonari increased surprisingly in numbers, and at the zenith of the Society's power it was estimated that it counted its members by hundreds of thousands.

Among them were many well-educated

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men in good positions, who sincerely sought an improvement in the government of the country, and nothing else. They looked across to Spain, where a revolution in 1819 had been followed by the grant of a constitution. Drawing inspiration from this example, the people of Naples also demanded a constitution, and backed it by a revolt, in which the army joined, led by the veteran General Pépé. Ferdinand of Bourbon could do nothing but submit, and with apparent willingness granted a constitution on the Spanish lines. His readiness to meet the wishes of his subjects he affirmed with an oath, taken solemnly and in public. It ran :—

“ Omnipotent God, who with infinite penetration lookest into the heart and the future, if I lie, or if one day I should be faithless to my oath, do thou at this moment annihilate me.” Within a few months he was protesting before the monarchs of Austria, Russia and Prussia that the constitution had been exacted from him by force, and that the grant was on that account null and void.

For Austria regarded the desire for a constitution as the most heinous of crimes,

and a matter that demanded the instant attention of the great Powers of Europe. Austria made the question a pressing one, because the liberals of Piedmont, encouraged by the successes achieved in Spain and Naples, were seeking a constitution in the same manner. She called upon the monarchs of Europe, using the curious pact of the Holy Alliance, to meet and repress this Italian striving after a measure of self-government. Austrian troops were sent to Naples to suppress the movement, the infamous Prince Canosa acting as agent in the tyrannous work.

The first Parliament under the new Constitution had met at Naples in 1820, and on the names of those present at that meeting were founded proscription lists, which ultimately contained over 4,000 names. The veriest semblance of justice now disappeared from the unhappy kingdom. Men were imprisoned and even executed without trial. Houses were searched, and wholesale arrests made without any warrant; the right of assembling was totally denied. All the educational institutions were closed, and terror reigned through Naples and Sicily. Then Ferdinand came back to Naples,



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which for the next forty years was governed by police officials backed by Austrian soldiers.

In Piedmont the constitutionalists fared no better. Their demand had so alarmed King Victor Emmanuel that he abdicated in favour of his cousin Charles Felix, who appointed Charles Albert as regent in his own absence. The Regent, who sympathized with the demand of the revolting army, granted a constitution, thinking that the King would acquiesce. This he was far from doing; and as the Austrians were already on the move, backed by an army of 100,000 Russians, Charles Albert fled from the kingdom, after resigning his regency. The rebels were defeated at Novara, and Austrian garrisons occupied the fortresses of Piedmont.

Punishment followed as in Naples, though not on so extended a scale. More than seventy of the rebels were condemned to death, but as they had all fled, the Austrians had to be content with executing them in effigy. Over a hundred officers were condemned to the galleys, and restrictions on personal liberty were intensified in Piedmont, as in Naples.

So ended Italy's first bid for constitutional



## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

government; the patriots being unable to make headway against the combined forces of absolutism in Europe. It is necessary, in order that the nature of the obstacles encountered by Italian patriots may be understood, to explain the nature of the tie which, with the support of the Catholic Church, enabled the absolute monarchs of Europe to combine so readily against Italian freedom.

# THE HOLY ALLIANCE



## CHAPTER III

### THE HOLY ALLIANCE

THE long anguish of Europe, which ended with the downfall of Napoleon in 1815, may fairly be regarded as the century-old counterpart of the struggle in which the world is now engaged. Its conclusion found many men with the belief that Armageddon had been fought and the era of everlasting peace was about to begin. Philosophers and prelates were casting about for means to ensure this desirable conclusion to an exhausting series of wars, and a large number of such thinkers found a cause for them in the spirit of revolt which had found its chief expression in the French Revolution.

They were confronted in their speculations by the undeniable fact that this spirit, far from waning, existed more actively and was wider spread with each succeeding year. They noted with dismay that it was accompanied in many of its manifestations by an

absolute negation of religious belief. The avowed desire to cast off clericalism with absolutism led many of its adherents into extremes which have always been encountered, and may still be encountered, where very advanced views are strongly held.

Among the many schemes propounded to subdue this spirit, and so to ensure the future peace of the world, the most noteworthy emanated from the Czar of Russia. Alexander was a strange being, almost wholly compounded of absolutism and mystic religious fervour. He had but recently come under the influence of the notorious Baroness de Krudener, who, after conversation extending over two hours, had converted him to the mystic tenets of "chiliasm" of which she was the first living exponent. He was under the influence of this strange woman and her associates when he visited Paris in 1815, and after long consultations with these advisers he propounded to his fellow monarchs for signature a mysterious document, couched in the following terms:—

"Art. I. Conformably to the words of the Holy Scriptures, which command all men to consider each other as brethren, the three contracting Monarchs will remain



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

united by the bonds of a true and indissoluble fraternity, and considering each other as fellow countrymen, they will, on all occasions and in all places, lend each other aid and assistance: and regarding themselves towards their subjects and armies as fathers in the same spirit of fraternity with which they are animated to protect Religion, Peace and Justice.

“ Art. II. In consequence, the sole principle of Force, whether between the said Governments or between their subjects, shall be that of doing each other reciprocal service, and of testifying by unalterable goodwill the mutual affection with which they ought to be animated, to consider themselves all as members of one and the same Christian Nation; the three allied Princes looking on themselves as merely delegated by Providence to govern three branches of the one family, Austria, Prussia and Russia, thus confessing that the Christian world, of which they and their people form a part, has in reality no other Sovereign than Him to whom alone Power really belongs, because in Him alone are found all the treasures of love, science and infinite wisdom, that is to say God, our divine Saviour, the Word

of the Most High, the Word of Life. Their Majesties consequently recommend to their people, with the most tender solicitude, as the sole means of enjoying that peace which arises from a good conscience, and which alone is durable, to strengthen themselves every day more and more in the principles and exercise of the duties which the Divine Saviour has taught to mankind.

“ Art. III. All the Powers which shall choose solemnly to avow the sacred principles which have dictated the present Act, and shall acknowledge how important it is for the happiness of nations, too long agitated, that these truths should henceforth exercise over the destinies of mankind all the influence which belongs to them, will be received with equal ardour and affection into this Holy Alliance.”

This curious document meant nothing at the time to anybody but its originator. The King of Prussia, who was extremely anxious to maintain the closest friendship with the Czar, signed it with a ready complaisance, feeling that he was binding himself to nothing in particular. The Emperor of Austria, who never moved without consulting Count Metternich, made the char-

## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

acteristic comment that if it was a political secret, he must tell it to Metternich ; if a religious secret, he must tell it to his confessor. Metternich pronounced it "mere empty words." In this spirit the three original signatures were appended to the Treaty.

How it fared with other European Powers is told by Mrs. Venturi, who writes in her biography of Mazzini :

"The Treaty of the Holy Alliance was not graced with the name of the Prince Regent (of Great Britain), but the Czar received a letter declaring that his principles had the approval of this great authority on religion and morality. The Kings of Naples and Sardinia were the next to subscribe, and in due time the names of the witty glutton Louis XVIII and of the abject Ferdinand of Spain were subscribed."

The Treaty was endorsed by the Netherlands and Wurtemberg in 1816 and by Saxony, Switzerland and the Hansa towns in the following year. Such was the origin of aan undertaking which, meaning nothing at the time, except to its mystic composer, was afterwards used as an instrument to crush the growing spirit of Italian freedom.

Nor was the occasion long in arriving. In 1819 the popular demand for constitutional government in Spain could no longer be resisted, and the success of the revolutionary movement there encouraged the patriots of Naples and Piedmont in similar demands. In 1820 there was a conference between Russia, Prussia and Austria at Troppau, in which France and Great Britain also took part. It was decided, under the terms of the Holy Alliance, that the Neapolitan Constitution should be put down by force of arms. The only protest against this action came from Great Britain, but, the support of France failing, the protest was an ineffectual one. Action was taken by the Powers, with results that have already been described.

There was a further meeting of the three Kings at Laibach in the same year, when the principle was enunciated that "useful and necessary changes in legislation and in the administration of states could only emanate from the freewill and from the intelligent and well-weighed convictions of those whom God has made responsible for power. Penetrated with this eternal truth the sovereigns have not hesitated to pro-



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claim it with frankness and vigour. They have declared that, in respecting the rights and independence of legitimate power, they regarded as legally null, and disavowed by the principle which constituted the public right of Europe, all pretended reforms operated by revolt and open hostilities."

Here was a doctrine to which Great Britain certainly could not subscribe. The duty of making known the national objection fell upon Lord Castlereagh, who was then Prime Minister, and he did so in a letter studiously moderate in tone. The right of a state to interfere in the affairs of another state when its own interests were endangered was conceded, but nothing more. Intervention to put down a revolutionary movement, apart from the bearing of such movement upon the security of the intervening state, was pronounced unrighteous. In a word, Castlereagh disputed the assumption that a possible revolutionary movement could form the basis of any hostile Alliance.

Immediate emphasis was given to this letter by the movement for freedom in Greece. Another Congress of the Powers was summoned at Verona, and the duty of



representing Great Britain there devolved upon Castlereagh. Before the Congress met, his mysterious suicide brought Canning into power. The Duke of Wellington was deputed by him to represent Great Britain at Verona, where he began the proceedings as a minority of one.

By this time the alleged principle of the Holy Alliance had no warmer advocate than France. Itching to interfere in the affairs of Spain, France laid before the Congress a proposal for an expedition against that country, with the object of forcing upon it such a constitution as the King of France might choose to dictate. This proposal was warmly supported by Russia, and gave the Duke of Wellington an opportunity of defining with unmistakable clearness the position of Great Britain. The right of the Alliance, or of any power of the Alliance, to interfere with the government of an independent nation was denied *in toto*. Having uttered this denial, Great Britain withdrew from the Congress.

Canning thus wrecked for ever the scheme to interpret the Holy Alliance into an assertion of the right of one nation to interfere gratuitously in the internal affairs of another.

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He had asserted, to quote his own words, that Great Britain "would recognize institutions raised up by the people as well as those made by Kings." The principle laid down then was adhered to by Great Britain throughout Italy's long struggle for freedom and national unity. It was clearly understood that our own country would take no part in unwarranted interference, and would resist unjust aggression by every means except an actual resort to arms.

For Russia the Holy Alliance remained a very real entity long after it had served the purpose to which it was first put, and had been forgotten by other powers. Its terms were last recalled by the famous Peace Rescript of the Czar, which preceded the first Hague conference; and there appears little reason to doubt that in his issue of the Rescript he was guided by the general principles laid down for monarchs by his famous ancestor.



# THE PAPAL STATES





## CHAPTER IV

### THE PAPAL STATES

**I**F choice had to be made, it would probably be necessary to pronounce the Papal States the worst governed of the provinces of Italy. The temporal rule of the Pope extended over the middle portion of the peninsula, an area including Umbria, Romagna and the Eastern marches. It comprised some of the fairest of the Italian cities, including Bologna, Ravenna and Rimini. The three million Italians who acknowledged the temporal power of the Pope suffered not only from the tyranny under which all Italy groaned; they had to submit to the additional burden of a reactionary clericalism.

Napoleon had left his mark on this province no less than upon the remainder of Italy. Before his coming the cities, such as Bologna, had enjoyed a large measure of municipal independence. That disappeared when he annexed the papal states; and on the

return of the Pope from Fontainebleau it was never restored. The good of the old regime was forgotten, all that was evil was reanimated and perpetuated.

After the revolutionary period of 1830, and with the accession of Pope Gregory, an unimaginable state of affairs prevailed. Gregory was a reactionary of so extreme a type that he refused to allow a railway or a telegraph line in the land he ruled. His twenty states were governed by Cardinal legates ; he himself was maintained in Rome by the arms of foreign powers. His rule was a rule of police and priest, his system the stifling of all education and progress. What teaching was given in the schools was imparted in Latin, but at this period only two per cent. of the population of the papal States was literate.

Police and priests worked hand in hand ; to be a person of education was to be suspected by both. Lists of "thinkers" were compiled on both sides and compared. The police were charged to force suspects to the confessional ; the priests did not scruple to divulge information so obtained to the police. "The position of a 'thinker' driven into the confessional by the police must have

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had piquancy," comments Trevelyan ; and indeed it troubles the imagination to realize such a position.

The censorship of the Press was rigid and unscrupulous ; no letters were safe from the eyes of the officials, who made the fullest use of information so obtained. The chief places in the Courts of Justice were held by clerics, who had also special courts of their own, for trying what they pleased to term spiritual offences. But the formality of a trial was not needed in the realms of the Pope, and hundreds of men and women were banished or imprisoned without any semblance of a judicial inquiry.

In such an atmosphere the Carbonari flourished as nowhere else in Italy. The Society's existence furnished employment for whole hordes of spies, who pervaded every walk of life, and often succeeded in penetrating to the Carbonarist meetings, when punishment, harsh and instant, followed. The conspirators retorted by frequent assassinations, an example their oppressors were not slow to follow. A society, whose members were known as San-Fedists, sprang into existence to put down the Carbonari by means of murder. There were organized bands of

murderers, known as Centurioni, who openly slew and spoiled in the name of the Pope.

The petty tyrannies of the time and place were as numerous as they were revolting ; some were quite ludicrous. The wearing of a beard was an offence in the eyes of police and priests, since it was held to be the mark of advanced ideas. It was possible for any man to be haled off to the barber and shaved incontinently, when his chin showed him guilty of this offence. The towns groaned under the curse of clericalism ; but they dared not groan too loud, for Austrian bayonets were ever at hand to enforce the police sabres.

For the peasant, illiterate and poverty-stricken, these oppressions and indignities had little or no terror. In the village priest he often found his best friend and readiest helper. The Church, which created ignorance and indigence, and stolidly perpetuated these evils, salved its conscience by tending the victims of its own sin and neglect.

In this slough of repression and injustice the Papal States remained until 1847, when Gregory died, and Pius IX was selected to succeed him. His first acts proved him to be a man of liberal views and strict justice.



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

When the news of this election was conveyed to him he had said, "My God, they want to make a Napoleon of a poor country priest." He possibly referred to the vast spiritual responsibility delegated to him, for he showed no timidity in dealing with the problems presented by his temporal rule.

His first thought was to remedy the worst injustices perpetrated in the name of his predecessor. Decrees of banishment were reversed; the prisons were examined, and innocent captives were set free. The censorship of the Press and printing works was relaxed, and a wide measure of free speech was permitted. The wonder of it caught all men of Italy, and the apostles of United Italy already dreamed of a confederation of Free Italian states with the Pope at its head.

They forgot that the Pope ruled in a double capacity, and that his position as a small Italian prince was necessarily subordinate to that of head of the Catholic Church. In the latter capacity he held responsibilities to Austria and a great part of what is now the German Empire, as well as to France, Spain and Belgium, to mention but part of his spiritual kingdom.



Pius IX soon found that the aspirations of his temporal subjects must take second place, so important was the international side of the vast position he held.

He was not long in discovering, also, that some of the beneficiaries from his sense of justice were developing an embarrassing sense of gratitude. Among the exiles whom he had recalled were men who assumed a great deal more from his early acts than he had intended should be read into them. They contrived to make his position difficult with the dignitaries of his church, as with the foreign nations where repression was a political creed. It also became apparent that what he had done had already rendered the old rulers of the Papal States impotent, and in the absence of any authority to replace them, a state of affairs perilously like anarchy was threatening.

His next step was the issue of the Fundamental Statute, granting the semblance of a Constitution to the States. This decree established a Chamber of elected Deputies, but left the administrative power in the hands of the Pope and such ministers as he might choose to appoint. His first minister was Mamiani, a constitutionalist who cher-

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ished ideas that had been cut and dried in lands which were, constitutionally, centuries in advance of his own.

Elsewhere in Italy a new wave of revolt was sweeping back the Austrian intruder. Milan had expelled General Radetzky, and Charles Albert of Piedmont had declared for a free Italy. Into this movement the enthusiasts with whom Rome was now filled attempted to drag Pius. Horrified at the idea, he issued his Allocution, declaring that he had no desire to make war on Austria.

The Roman mob at this time was under the remarkable influence of Angelo Brunetti, better known by his nickname of Ciceruacchio, a wine seller of incurable loquacity and great good humour. He began his career as a demagogue in the capacity of one of the Pope's unwelcome admirers ; the burden of his speeches to the slumdweller of Trastevere was the unfailing goodness of Pius IX. He passed by easy stages to the wickedness of his counsellors, and the mighty past and great future of the city of Rome. Among the evil counsellors he included Rossi, who had succeeded Mamiani as the administrative minister of the Pope.

Rossi, a man of great executive capacity,

had quickly grasped the opportunity afforded him of restoring order and method to the affairs of the papacy. The effect of a firm hand was already being demonstrated, when he was assassinated by the younger Brunetti, son of that Ciceruacchio already mentioned ; but it is due to the latter to state that he had no inkling of his son's vile intention. Rome was given over to mob rule ; and the Pope, in despair, fled over the Neapolitan border to Gaeta.

In the meantime Austria had smothered the attempt at freedom in the North. Radetzky was back at Milan ; Charles Albert had been defeated and had abdicated in favour of his son. Rome at once became the magnet for the liberators. Garibaldi was gathering a force of volunteers near Ravenna. Mazzini appeared on the scene, as if by magic, from the fogs of his London exile. The Roman Republic was declared, and its government was entrusted to a triumvirate, of whom Mazzini was the controlling spirit.

It will not be supposed that Pius IX lacked champions in such an emergency. France dispatched an expedition under General Oudinot to restore his Dominions

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to Pius. Ferdinand of Naples, with whom he had taken refuge, mustered his army and prepared to march on the same purpose. The Austrians were already moving South, intent on being first in the race. Mazzini was prompt to recognize the hopelessness of the situation; he was equally prompt in deciding that Rome should be defended to the last.

Garibaldi flew to the defence with his volunteers, more than a thousand in number, drawn from the students, citizens and mechanics of the towns of Romagna. The glorious blows he struck cannot be recalled without a catch of the breath. Oudinot fell back from the walls of the city with his French force hopelessly shattered, and nothing to be done until substantial reinforcements should arrive. The redshirt sped South, and met the Neapolitans in the open field. Two crushing defeats were sustained by Ferdinand, and Pius realized that he had nothing more to hope from King Bomba. The Austrians, too, were held in check; but, notwithstanding, Mazzini saw that the case of the Republic was hopeless.

At this time Ferdinand de Lesseps arrived from Paris, ostensibly to arrange for the



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peaceful occupation of the city by the French. There seems no doubt that he undertook this mission honestly, and suspecting no ulterior motive on the part of Napoleon III. It is almost equally certain that the real motive for his despatch was to gain time for the arrival of reinforcements, so that the French triumph might be secured. He certainly succeeded in his mission before he was recalled, and the French proceeded to besiege and capture the city.

Thus Pius IX returned to Rome, where he was to remain supported by a French garrison for more than twenty years.



THE GRANDEUR OF DEFEAT



## CHAPTER V

### THE GRANDEUR OF DEFEAT

**T**HE failure of the constitutional movement of 1820 in Italy had convinced the ardent patriots that freedom was not likely to come by that means. Austria, backed by the other absolute monarchs, had repressed the constitutionalists, and hanged and exiled the leaders of the movement. There remained nothing for the patriots but to drive the hated Austrians out of every state of Italy. To that end all the plots between 1820 and 1830 were conceived; they came to a head with the French Revolution of 1830.

As though it had been a preconceived signal, the states rose against their Austrian masters. In Naples there was a rising in 1830, which was quelled by Ferdinand, with the help of his Austrian friends. Parma rose, and the Archduchess Marie Louise fled across the borders till Austrian aid

could be got for her reinstatement. The Duke of Modena also took to flight, and a provisional government was established, only to be repressed with the customary cruelties. Hangings, wholesale imprisonments and banishments followed in the wake of the returning Austrians; and once more the government by police and spies was firmly established in these unhappy states.

It would be idle to detail the risings of the years that followed. Mazzini's first futile attempt at revolt failed in 1833 near Milan; he and Garibaldi were concerned in an attempt upon Sardinia in the next year. Sporadic risings here and there, foredoomed to failure, filled the years that intervened until 1848. In that year all Italian eyes were turned upon Sardinia, for King Charles Albert had granted a constitution, liberal beyond the ordinary dreams of the oppressed Italians; and the first real Parliament of Italy had met in Turin.

Even in the Duchies there was not such tyranny as in the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia, which were held directly under Austrian rule. Milan, issuing to Sardinia a despairing cry for help, rose on March 18, 1848, and after five days of terrible street

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fighting, drove the Austrians, under General Radetzky, out of the city, and established a provisional government. The blow was a severe one to Austria, and Lombardy was even offered a measure of independence, on terms. But Charles Albert was coming to set Lombardy free, and Venetia had risen too. In Parma and Modena the people had again driven their Austrian rulers out, and cast in their lot with Sardinia. Lombardy thought Charles Albert had but to come and conquer; and the Austrian terms were rejected with scorn.

Charles Albert was a brave man, but a poor general. The Austrians had retired to the space enclosed within the four strongholds of Pescheira, Verona, Legnano and Mantua. The Sardinians sustained two mortal defeats, at Custozza on July 25, 1848, and at Novara on March 23, 1849. Milan and Lombardy had to be abandoned to their fate; Charles Albert abdicated on the field of Novara, and died of apoplexy a few months later. Lombardy felt the full weight of Austrian severity again, and free Piedmont had to submit to the ignominy of Austrian garrisons in her strongholds.

Venice made a glorious fight of it under



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Manin, a political prisoner who was released when the city rose, and proclaimed President of a Venetian Republic. The defeat of Sardinia shattered all the hopes of the young Republic, but Manin made a desperate stand behind the walls of the city. The siege lasted 146 days, and then Manin escaped to a life of exile, bitterly mourned by his fellow-citizens. "I did not believe such Republican dogs were such honest men," said the Austrian Gonzkowsky, after an inspection of the books of the Republic.

At the first outbreak in the North, Sicily rose and demanded independence; while Naples coerced Ferdinand into sending 13,000 men, under the veteran General Pépé, to help the Sardinians against Austria. But Ferdinand retained his Swiss mercenaries in the South, and with these he crushed the Sicilian revolt. This he followed by recalling the army from the North, a prelude to an exemplary punishment of Sicily. His bombardments of towns, his burnings and his hangings made him even more generally execrated than before; and especially his bombardments. He earned in this fashion the name by which he is now remembered in Southern Italy—King Bomba. It has

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remained for the Germans to surpass his senseless and destructive maiming of towns and cities, and indiscriminate slaughter of innocent inhabitants, in which women and children suffered with male adults.

Rome too had risen—even Rome—and sent Pope Pius flying for protection to Gaeta across the Neapolitan frontier. Mazzini had lived through the great days of the triumvirate, and Garibaldi had shown the French how he could lead Italian volunteers to victory. But there had been only too many candidates for the privilege of reinstalling the Pope in his city, and the short-lived Roman Republic had been crushed by the sister Republic of France.

The opening of the year 1850 saw the cause of Italian freedom apparently broken for ever. The liberal Pope, whose first acts had begotten dreams of an Italian confederacy of free states, with the Pope at its head, had become a reactionary of the most uncompromising type. Tuscany, Parma and Modena once more had rulers who were effusively grateful to Austria; and for good cause. King Bomba was launched on that career of vicious misgovernment described in burning words by no less an

## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

eyewitness than Mr. Gladstone; a career that makes the ordinary man feel sad to think he died unpunished by man.

It was the dark hour before the dawn. The four great men who were to be instrumental in uniting Italy, and in driving the stranger from her shores, were all tasting the bitterness of preliminary failure. Mazzini, the inspired dreamer, had again fled to London, little realizing that the best part of his work in the scheme of Italian regeneration had already been done. Garibaldi, broken in health, widowed, and desperately despondent, was seeking in the new world some means of living, however humble. Victor Emmanuel had received from his father the bitter legacy of a crown weighted by the spite and misunderstanding of a disappointed people. And the sagacious Cavour had already discerned in the young King the grit and patriotism needed to weld the scattered states of Italy into the constitutional monarchy which he rightly judged to be the only solution of Italy's long-suffered wrongs.

MAZZINI





## CHAPTER VI

### MAZZINI

**B**LIND revolt was the utmost expression of Carbonarist activity. The Society exhibited all the worst features of purposeless conspiracy, from childish mummery to senseless and brutal assassination. But the spirit of revolt was so strong in Italy that the Society attracted many of the best of the Italian youth, until a great man arose to provide them with a worthier means of communication, a more definite scheme of action, and a straighter path to the distant goal. The name of that man was Giuseppe Mazzini.

Cavour was an aristocrat, and Garibaldi a man of the people; but Mazzini belonged to the professional middle class. His father was a doctor, and he himself chose the bar as a profession. But literature claimed him as soon as his legal studies were completed, and for the rest of his life he gained his

scanty living by writing. He soon attracted the suspicion of the authorities by his habit of walking about at night lost in thought, and his father was told by the Governor of Genoa, "The government is not fond of young men of talent, the subject of whose musings is not known to it."

The reproof was so far justified that Mazzini was already a Carbonarist, and was selected to perform a secret mission for the Society. He was betrayed and arrested, and pending his trial for conspiracy, spent six months in prison at Novara. There was not sufficient evidence to convict him, and he was set at liberty, but his liberty was subject to such restriction that he preferred exile; consequently he went to live at Marseilles.

Before his captivity he had sickened of the Carbonarist methods, and in the seclusion of his cell had evolved a new and better Society, into the organization of which he now threw himself heart and soul. When he founded "Young Italy" he chose as watchwords, Liberty, Equality, Humanity, and on the other side of the banner, Unity, Independence. In those few words were summarized all the aims of the Society.

## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

It sought independence so complete that no part of Italy should remain under a foreign yoke ; unity so thorough that every state of Italy should be joined in one Commonwealth ; liberty, equality and fraternity under a republican government, where all men should be on the same footing. Those were the ideals conceived by Mazzini in the lonely months of his captivity ; he never swerved from them for the remainder of his life.

The organization was stripped of all the fripperies by which the Carbonari appealed to the ignorant and superstitious ; it had no terrifying initiation ceremony or dreadful oath of allegiance. There were only two degrees, the initiator and the initiated ; members recognized one another by an order word and a special handshake, both changed at frequent intervals. The symbol of the Society was a cypress branch, in memory of the martyrs who had died for Italy ; its motto " Dio e Popolo "—God and the people.

In order to establish means of communication and acquaintance between the seekers for freedom in different parts of Italy, he had recourse to an ingenious subterfuge.

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An annual congress was arranged, for the ostensible purpose of scientific discussion, but really to arrange for further propaganda, and to extend relations within the Society. Lastly, Mazzini conducted a paper, and produced pamphlets, which were secretly circulated throughout Italy, and did more than anything else to keep alive the cause of Italian Unity. Thus Mazzini substituted a plan of campaign for patriots, in the place of the sheer purposeless revolutionary action of the Carbonarists. His next move was to address a letter from Marseilles to Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, calling upon him to cast off the Austrian yoke, and to trust to God and the people.

“The people,” he wrote, “are no longer to be quieted by a few concessions. They demand laws and liberty, independence and union. Divided, dismembered and oppressed, they have neither name nor country. . . .

“All Italy waits for one word—one only—to make itself yours. Select the way that accords with the desire of the nation; maintain it unalterably; be firm and select your time; you have the victory in your



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hands. Sire, on this condition we bind ourselves round you, we proffer you our lives, we will lead to your banner the little states of Italy. . . .

“Unite us, Sire, and we shall conquer.”

The effect of this letter, which was printed and circulated throughout Italy, was to stir the latent craving for freedom and justice in many Italian hearts where it had been dormant. Incidentally it annoyed the King of Sardinia into arranging for the arrest of Mazzini, should he ever cross the border ; and it made Marseilles too hot to contain him any longer. He transferred his residence to Geneva.

From Geneva he projected his first actual revolt, intended to be a demonstration against Austria in Lombardy ; but it failed without so much as a shot being fired. For this failure Mazzini blamed the Carbonarists of Paris, who had neglected to make certain promised arrangements. The failure resulted in Mazzini being condemned to death and forced to live in hiding in Switzerland. Even there he was not welcome, and in the end he fled for refuge to London, where he at least knew himself to be safe. His high character and simple life earned for



him the respect of all with whom he came in contact, and the friendship of many who did not easily give their trust.

He mastered the English language so thoroughly as to acquire a very distinguished English style, as reference to the articles he contributed to the reviews of the period will show. In course of time he grew to love London, and to regard it as his second home. During the period of his exile in London his letters were opened by the Home Office, and, it was stated at the time, their contents were revealed to the governments of the Italian states; as a result of this supervision, it was said, a revolt planned by two brothers named Bandiera was anticipated by the authorities and the young men lost their lives.

Against this spying *The Times*, although it regarded Mazzini as a dangerous and worthless character, very finely protested on principle. This brought a letter from Carlyle dealing with Mazzini's individual merits, though Carlyle made no secret of his opinion that Mazzini was an impracticable visionary; but the testimony he bore to his character was a rare one, coming as it did from such a man.

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“I have had the honour to know Mr. Mazzini for a series of years, and, whatever I may think of his skill and insight in worldly affairs, I can with great freedom testify that he, if I have ever seen one such, is a man of genius and virtue, one of those rare men, numerable unfortunately in units in this world, who are worthy to be called martyr souls, who, in silence, piously in their daily life, practise what is meant by that.”

The test of Mazzini's practical capacity came with the formation of the Roman Republic, and his appointment as triumvir. His colleagues in the office deferred to him in everything; to all intent he was the dictator of Rome. In that extremity it can be said of him that he conducted a revolution without violence of any kind. Property of all individuals was entirely unmolested; only the property of the Church was diverted for purposes of government. He reached a point in humanitarianism which almost made the administration of justice impossible, since in his anxiety that no political opponent or unoffending person should be cast into prison, he neglected means of imprisoning real offenders against the Commonwealth.

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The entry of the French into Rome saw Mazzini once more fleeing from his native land under sentence of death, and once more he found a safe resting place in London. His visits to Italy were frequently made, but conducted secretly; and *l'amico*, as he was called by Young Italy, never lost his influence with the party he had originated. He believed in revolt, if only unsuccessful revolt, as an expression of the demand for freedom, and as time went on the manifestations of the Mazzinists in this direction became a sore embarrassment to the plans of Cavour, who was steadily bidding for the support of Napoleon III, whom Mazzini loathed. For Cavour and his plans, Mazzini, as a professed Republican, had little to say that was good, and the feeling was reciprocated by Cavour.

Thus it happened that when Garibaldi and his Thousand set out for their notable expedition to Sicily, Mazzini left London for Genoa to take part in the adventure. He arrived too late, for Garibaldi had sailed, a fact the more annoying to Mazzini since he had wished to divert the attack from Sicily to Rome itself. He hid in Genoa, where Cavour sought to have him arrested;

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but with his beard shaved and his hat pulled over his eyes Mazzini was safe enough, and used afterwards to take pleasure in telling how he chatted to Cavour's spies, and gave them cigars. He was now working for a united Italy, recognizing that a monarchy was inevitable and his republic impossible. "After I have helped to make Italy one under the King," he wrote, "I shall go back to London and write to tell the Italians they are idiots." But still he wrote, "It is no longer a question of Republic or Monarchy; it is a question of national Unity, of existence or non-existence."

But the lines on which he worked still continued to cross those on which the unity of the nation was finally accomplished. He left Genoa to meet the triumphant Garibaldi at Naples and strongly advised Garibaldi to make a direct attack upon Rome, an adventure which would have brought about French intervention, and might easily have delayed Italian unity for another generation. The advice was only rejected because of Garibaldi's personal loyalty to Victor Emmanuel; indeed, Mazzini had unwittingly hastened the consolidation of the Kingdom in a way he never intended. His



influence with Garibaldi had forced Cavour to contrive an expedition against the Papal states, which resulted in the annexation of Umbria and the Eastern Marches, leaving to the Pope only the territory immediately round Rome itself.

The remainder of Mazzini's life was expended in unavailing struggles against the inevitable. He was still under sentence of death in his own country, and as a protest against this the city of Messina returned him to Parliament in 1865. As a professed Republican, Mazzini would not take the oath of allegiance to the King, and consequently never took his seat. He shared in the general amnesty extended to all political offenders shortly afterwards, but continued to excite his followers to revolt. In 1870 it was necessary to arrest him, and he spent two months in confinement at Gaeta.

His death occurred in 1872, when the Italian Parliament by an unanimous resolution paid tribute to his services to his country, and to the cause of Italian Unity. Those services, as already indicated, were rendered in the darkest days of the history of modern Italy, when he alone had the



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vision and the foresight. Only his fervour and high ideals kept alive the spirit of freedom in the bosoms of the scattered and tortured patriots of Italy. He pointed them the way, and showed by his blameless life how best it might be followed. In the pursuit of his high ideals he lost sight of the practical method by which much that was substantial in his programme was eventually gained. In his disappointment and his impatience, he expressed himself bitterly, and with a woeful pessimism. But to the very end of his life his singleness of purpose retained for him the veneration of his followers, and the respect of many high-minded men who differed from him in the essentials of practical procedure.



GARIBALDI



## CHAPTER VII

### GARIBALDI

**F**OR the actual work of liberation there enters upon the scene the most romantic figure of the nineteenth century, an Italian knight-errant who was doomed to spend but a few months of his long life on the soil he freed from the oppressor ; the man of destiny ; Garibaldi the Lion.

In seeking the measure of the man by the effect he produced upon his contemporaries it is only necessary to apply one touchstone, the infallible one of London. London, which greets emperors and foreign kings with but mild enthusiasm ; London, where our own great ones may walk through the streets unmarked and unrecognized ; the London of the sixties, with its tolerant contempt for all foreigners, rose at Garibaldi and gave him such a greeting as no man not of British blood has ever received there before or since. His pas-



sage through five miles of London streets occupied the half of a long day ; the carriage in which he rode was strained to uselessness by the millions of clutching hands that strove to detain it for another glimpse. There are elderly men alive to-day who will tell how their mothers held them up as little boys, and craved for them the blessing of the hero who had freed his country from the most damnable of all tyrannies.

A vivid word picture of the man who so stirred the cold heart of London has been left by the Dutch artist Koelman, who saw him in Rome in the zenith of his physical beauty.

“ Of middle height, well made, broad-shouldered, his square chest, which gives a sense of power to his structure, well-marked under the uniform—he stood there before us ; his blue eyes, ranging to violet, surveying the group. . . . They curiously contrasted with those dark sparkling eyes of his Italian soldiers, no less than his light chestnut-brown hair, which fell loosely over his neck on to his shoulders, contrasted with their shining black curls. A heavy moustache and a light blonde beard ending in two points gave a martial expression

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to that open oval face. But most striking of all was the nose, with its exceedingly broad root, which has caused Garibaldi to be given the name of Leone ; and indeed made one think of a lion, a resemblance which, according to his soldiers, was still more conspicuous in the fight, when his eyes shot forth flames, and his fair hair waved as a mane above his temples."

There are other descriptions of him ; seated easily astride his snow-white war horse, the sun lighting his long fair hair and beard and making his red shirt aglow with fiery colour. At his right hand rides his faithful bodyguard, the black giant Aguyar, on his mighty coal-black stallion ; a faithful negro friend who followed his fortunes from South America, and laid down his life in the defence of Rome. They only disclose one side of a personality so magnetic that curious youths, who had gone but to look on him, donned the red shirt in a glow of enthusiasm which was sustained as long as they were privileged to serve with him.

He was born at Nice, then the Italian city of Nizzia ; his father was a fisherman and he became a sailor. His physical

prowess as a youth was extraordinary ; sixteen times he turned his splendid swimming to account in the saving of human life. He sailed the Levant as captain of a small merchantman ; he fought with pirates ; he was wrecked.

Then, in 1832, he met Mazzini, who was living in exile at Marseilles. Speaking in London in 1864, at a gathering in his honour where he noticed Mazzini unobtrusively seated in a corner, Garibaldi said : " When I was a youth, and had only aspirations towards good, I sought for one able to act as the guide and counsellor of my youthful years. I found this man. He alone kept and fed the sacred flame. This man is Joseph Mazzini ; he is my friend and teacher." There and then Garibaldi joined Young Italy ; he was known as Borel.

In the next year Mazzini organized a futile rising against the King of Sardinia in Piedmont. Garibaldi was cast for an important part in it, no less than the corruption of the Sardinian navy. He entered the service of the King at Genoa for no other purpose, and when his plan to seize the frigate *Euridice* failed, he was naturally forced to flee the country. For his offence

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he was condemned to death, but he was already on his way to South America.

There he became the admiral of the rebel Brazilian State of Rio Grande da Sul, his fleet consisting at first of a single fishing-boat, with which he fought his way to much greater things. Here he met and won his wife Anita, the companion of his wanderings and the mother of his brave sons. It was a romantic and a whirlwind wooing.

His ship was anchored in the Brazilian harbour of Laguna, and Garibaldi was scanning the town through his telescope, when he saw at a window the striking face of a young girl. Impulsively he called for a boat and rowed ashore. In the town he met an acquaintance, who invited him to partake of his hospitality. When Garibaldi accepted he was conducted to a room, one of the occupants of which was the young girl whose face had affected him so powerfully. Their eyes met in a look of understanding, and without more ado the sailor walked across to her and greeted her with the words: "Thou oughtest to be mine."

In the years that followed, when Garibaldi won the freedom of Uruguay with his Italian legion, Anita was his constant



companion in the saddle and in the camp. She shared his victories, she softened his reverses. She was with him after the defence of Rome (see Chapter IV), when the armies of three nations hunted him like a wild beast through the mountains of Italy. Before that cruel pursuit was ended, she died in his arms, to his ineffaceable grief.

His campaign in Uruguay is part of the history of South America ; he and his Italians won the battles of Cerro and Saint Antonio, which set the country free. In those campaigns of the pampas he learned to become the greatest guerilla fighter of modern times.

But now the flag of freedom was once more raised in Italy, and he returned to place his sword at the disposal of that Piedmont which had condemned him to death. The word passed from one end of the peninsula to the other : " Garibaldi is coming back." They knew all about Garibaldi ; Mazzini had seen to that. By pamphlet and by word of mouth his deeds had been blazoned abroad through Italy and were inscribed in the hearts of his countrymen. The liberator of Uruguay was eagerly awaited by those who planned to free Italy.



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

He was a Republican by conviction, and Piedmont had condemned him to death. Yet his first act on landing was to offer his services to Charles Albert ; but his reception was a cold one, and his offer was refused. With his group of volunteers he carried on a guerilla warfare in the Alpine fastnesses ; Mazzini, among others, fought with him. He was still fighting long after Charles Albert abandoned the struggle and had abdicated his throne in despair.

When a youth of eighteen, he had been taken by his father to Rome, an event which he afterwards described as the turning point in his career. For him Rome was the embodied expression of Italy, the emblem of the united Italy that was the object of his existence. He was now to see a republic proclaimed at Rome, to bid his dearest friends lay down their lives in the hopeless defence of that Republic ; to see it crushed out of existence by the sister Republic of France. In that experience he conceived a loathing of Louis Napoleon that remained with him for the rest of his life, a bitter hatred that no circumstances could alter and no plea of opportunism could modify.

He fled from Rome with a faithful few, and the soldiers of three armies hunted him through the mountain fastnesses of Italy. In evasion he showed the masterly qualities that made him the greatest guerilla fighter of modern times; but he escaped a bereaved man, broken in spirit and shattered in health.

Garibaldi made his way to Nice, but the Piedmontese Government could not harbour him, nor did he expect it, though his admirers showed a resentment he was far from feeling. He was allowed to stay long enough to take a farewell of his aged mother, and then his wanderings began again. They took him west to America, where he could find no better employment than in a chandler's factory. He considered himself fortunate to get to sea again, as captain of a sailing ship.

It was at this period and in this capacity that he paid his first visit to England, where an honour was paid him as unexpected as, by its very nature, it was gratifying to him. To Garibaldi, skipper of a collier in Newcastle harbour, Mr. Joseph Cowen presented a sword of honour, for the purchase of which the workers of that

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city had subscribed their scanty pence. Later Garibaldi was to be made the lion of London, but no English act ever touched him as this now almost forgotten episode.

But Italy called him; and inheriting a legacy of some £1,500 by the death of a brother, he decided to settle close at hand for the struggle which he now saw to be impending. He chose for his habitation the little island of Caprera, opposite the Corsican harbour of Maddalena, and easy of access to Nice and Genoa. Part of this island he purchased and there lived a life in the open air, farming, building—and waiting.

The call found him prepared; he set out on the most glorious of his many adventures. In two years he returned to Caprera, having won for Italy the Kingdom of Naples (see Chapter XI). He had to borrow 1,500 francs from a friend to start life as a farmer again. He had bitterness in his heart, for the price exacted for the French help in the making of united Italy included the cession of his native city Nice to the French.

From his island retreat he looked impatiently across to where Rome was held

by a circle of French bayonets. Rome was still his goal, and the counsels of patience given to him by wiser heads passed him unheeded. Several times he collected his volunteers in futile dashes for the capital, and in one of these expeditions he narrowly avoided precipitating a civil war. There was a scuffle, in which shots were fired, and Garibaldi himself was wounded in the leg. In his early South American adventures he had been captured by the Brazilians and cruelly tortured, but the anguish of those sufferings was not so exquisite as this flesh wound from an Italian bullet.

He last drew his sword against Germany. France had crushed his Roman republic; France had robbed Italy of his beloved Nice; but his instinct for liberty was so true that all his grievances were forgotten in France's hour of need. He was now an old man, and the event proved that he had lost all the dash of his youth and his ripe age. He added nothing to his reputation as a soldier by his last campaign, though its undertaking was of a piece with the soul of the man and his unquenchable thirst for the right.

Garibaldi died at Caprera in 1882. "While



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his life was ebbing out," writes Trevelyan, "two little birds whom he had taught not to fear him fluttered in from the moor and sat chirping on the window-sill. The attendants were about to drive them away lest they should disturb him, when that voice was heard once more by men, bidding them let the little birds come in, and always feed them after he was gone. And, having given these orders, he went upon his last expedition."





CAVOUR



## CHAPTER VIII

### CAVOUR

**C**AMILLO CAVOUR, the man who was actually to employ all the instruments that came to his hand in welding the scattered states of Italy into a great nation, began life as a soldier. Then he devoted his attention to farming, drifted into journalism, and so entered public life as the first representative of Milan in the first Sardinian Parliament.

His next twelve years of life were spent in the untiring service of his country. Such service has seldom been exacted from any man. He was at one and the same time the Minister of War, the Minister of Finance, the chief diplomat and the first administrator of the realm of Sardinia. He had to contend with the united opposition of all the great Powers of Europe, to consider the exhausted finances of the kingdom, to harmonize such contending influences as those

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of the King, of Garibaldi and of Mazzini, and to encounter religious and personal prejudices.

But when he died, worn out by his devotion to his country, he had the satisfaction of knowing that the interloper had been driven from Italy and that his hand had been the main instrument in the work.

He came of an aristocratic family of Turin, as his manner rather than his appearance proclaimed. A short stout man, with a pronounced stoop that added to the ungainliness of his carriage, he was further remarkable for the carelessness of his dress, which in later life verged on absolute slovenliness. A short fringe of beard rimmed the lower half of his face, but a noble forehead made it notable, and keen blue eyes gazed unwaveringly through his gold-rimmed glasses. His manner was distinguished; to his subordinates, considerate and appreciative; to his equals, full of charm; to his colleagues and even to his King, inclined to be overbearing when differences were being discussed.

In common with the whole of his class, he had an exalted hatred of the absolutism which kept Italy in chains, and he was readier than many of his class to assign a



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due proportion of blame to the clericalism which walked hand in hand with oppression and tyranny. So far he went with Mazzini and Garibaldi, but he differed from them in the expectations they formed of republicanism. Cavour was a keen student of the British system of government, and as a traveller, preferred spending his time in England studying British methods to visiting any of the Continental countries. He modelled his hopes for the future of Italy upon British ideals, and very early decided that his country could only be redeemed by a constitutional monarchy. These views he supported in his paper *Il Risorgimento*, which largely influenced King Charles Albert to grant the Sardinian Constitution in 1848.

He joined the administration of d'Azeglio on the death of Santarosa, and the sound judgment of the young King, Victor Emmanuel II, had already placed him. "Look out for Cavour," he said to Azeglio, his intimate and friend; "he will drive all of you." His driving force, and his sincere hatred of clericalism made him the only man to convert into law the proposals for limiting the power of the Church. Thence-

forward the destinies of the kingdom were always in his hands until his death, even when he had temporarily retired from office.

Looking round for help against the powers of absolutism, he saw no chance except that of Great Britain, and possibly of France. The opportunity to bid for the aid of both Powers came with the Crimean War, when Sardinia was invited to send her troops to Russia with those of the Allies. Only Cavour approved of the proposal, which was met with unanimous opposition from his ministerial colleagues. Fortunately the King agreed with him, and supported him with all his great influence, thus enabling his prime minister to beat down the opposition. The reward came when the Sardinians, by remarkable gallantry, won the day at the battle of Tchernaya, and all Europe rang with their bravery.

Austria acted as intermediary in the peace negotiations, and strove hard to exclude Sardinia from the congress of Paris, where terms were settled. But neither England nor France would countenance this injustice. The difficulty of selecting a suitable representative for the little kingdom was overcome by sending Cavour himself, though

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he accepted the responsibility with no great optimism. He found even greater sympathy than he expected at the hands of the British delegates, Cowley and Clarendon, and this influenced a similar consideration from France. He made an opportunity to put before the Congress the grievous wrongs from which Italy suffered, laying particular stress on the misgovernment of Naples. When the possibility of influencing King Ferdinand was suggested, he turned round in the presence of the Austrian delegates and, in plain language, laid on that power all the onus for the woes of Italy.

It was a diplomatic success he had achieved, if he did nothing practical. He had told the Powers that they looked on at hideous injustice, but he had found no champion. He was dejected; after the Congress he said to Clarendon, "If we must reconcile ourselves to Austria and the Pope, I must ask the King to call to power the friends of Austria and the Pope. In the other alternative, we shall not shrink from preparing for a terrible war—a war to the death."

But the state of European politics at the time had necessitated the support of Austria, as against Russia, by Great Britain.

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The Queen and her Consort were unsympathetic to Italy's cause, though the heart of the British people was warm toward the oppressed nation. Cavour soon gathered from Clarendon's manner and his guarded conversation that the expected help was not to be derived from that quarter; and that all Italy might expect from Great Britain was non-interference, and popular sympathy.

But sympathy was not what Cavour wanted; and he succeeded in getting from France the material help that alone was effective against Austria. In the short and glorious war that followed Cavour worked like a man possessed, for the whole burden of the administration was upon him, and the absence of the King in the field made his task all the heavier. Consequently, the armistice of Villafranca (see Chapter X) disappointed him out of the self-control he usually maintained, and his violent resentment of it may be put down to overwork and strain. It certainly involved him in an open disagreement with the King, who rejected his entreaties to disregard the peace made by Napoleon.

"This treaty shall not be executed," he declared; "if need be I will take Solaro



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della Margherita (the leader of the Clericals) by one hand and Mazzini by the other. I will become a conspirator. I will become a revolutionary. But the treaty shall not be executed. No! A thousand times, no. Never! Never!"

But the King had his way, and rightly so, as events proved; and after retiring to his farm, Cavour came back to negotiate with Napoleon for the annexation of the Central states of Italy, according to the plébiscite taken of them. The price demanded by the Emperor was not only Savoy, which had probably been mentioned when the Plombières interview took place, but the city of Nice as well. It was a bitter wrench for Cavour, but he had no option, and Nice had to be given up.

Garibaldi never forgave Cavour that surrender, for Nice was his native city; and Cavour, who did not understand many of Garibaldi's grievances against him, at least comprehended and pardoned this one. The surrender was the subject of a terrible scene in the Italian Parliament after Garibaldi had won and given over Naples to his country. Attacking Cavour for the disbanding of the volunteers, the General went on to



say that it was impossible for him ever to clasp the hand of a man who had sold his country to the foreigner. Cavour's reply was touching in its manly dignity :—

“ I know,” he said, “ that between me and the honourable General Garibaldi there exists a fact that divides us like an abyss. I believed that I fulfilled a painful duty—the most painful I ever accomplished in my life—in counselling the King and proposing to Parliament to approve the cession of Savoy and Nice to France. By the grief that I then experienced I can understand that which the honourable General Garibaldi must have felt, and if he cannot forgive me this act I will not bear him any grudge for it.”

Usually the most generous of men, Garibaldi failed in magnanimity on this occasion, and it was only at the instance of the King that a formal reconciliation took place between him and Cavour.

The cession of this territory, and the marriage of the King's daughter, a charming girl of sixteen, to Prince Jerome Bonaparte, who was more than twice her age and nothing too nice in the way of Princes, were sore pieces of work for Cavour. The expedition of Garibaldi to Sicily and Naples involved

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him in practices that were still more questionable. He not only consented to Garibaldi's departure on this revolutionary expedition, and dissembled his share in it, but he sent forward men and supplies through revolutionary agents. And when Garibaldi had swept through Sicily and was about to cross to the mainland, Francis II of Naples threw over the Austrians and proposed an alliance with Sardinia. It was too late, but Cavour did not tell him so.

"If we consent to the alliance we are lost," he told an intimate. "If we reject it, what will Europe say? In my life I was never more embarrassed." To gain time he pretended to treat with Naples while he was strengthening Garibaldi with all the men and weapons he could have sent to him. It was a risky business, for France was minded to interfere with Garibaldi's crossing, and but for Great Britain would have done so. But Garibaldi arrived at Naples in time to save Cavour's face, though not to spare him greater anxieties, for his yearnings after Rome now threatened to undo the work of Cavour's lifetime. An attack on Rome at this juncture would have made French intervention inevitable.

Once more Cavour suffered all the agonies

## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

of uncertainty while the Northern army marched on the Papal States, and finally got between Garibaldi and Rome, when the position was saved by the meeting of Garibaldi and the King. Indeed, the most lasting picture one gets of Cavour is that of a man waiting through an intolerable suspense for the perfection of schemes impossibly daring, made possible by the skill of his own diplomacy. His questionable tactics were forced upon him by the more than questionable adversary with whom he contended, and left no smudge on a brave and open character. "If we had done for ourselves the things which we are doing for Italy, we should be great rascals," he once remarked to a colleague. But he made no ado about anything he did for Italy, not even when, upon his deathbed, he still breathed his unfulfilled aspiration for "a free Church in a free State." He died a martyr to duty, and no more fitting epitaph can be found for him in these days than Trevelyan's judgment of him:

"If the example of Cavour had been preferred to that of Bismarck as the model for the patriots and statesmen of modern Europe, the whole world would now be a better place than it is."

VICTOR EMMANUEL II





## CHAPTER IX

### VICTOR EMMANUEL II

**A**FTER the fatal day of Novara, when the army of Charles Albert was shattered by Radetzky, and Milan had to be abandoned to its fate, the unhappy King called together his generals, and detailed the terms the conqueror sought to impose. He added : " From eighteen years ago till now I have always made every effort possible for the benefit of the people. I am deeply afflicted to see that my hopes have failed, not so much for my own sake, as for that of the country. I have not been able to find death upon the field of battle, as I had desired ; perhaps my existence is now the only obstacle to obtaining from the enemy reasonable terms. And since there remain no further means of continuing hostilities, I abdicate this moment in favour of my son Vittorio, in the hope that renewing negotiations with Radetzky, the new

King may obtain better conditions, and procure for the country an advantageous peace. Behold your King ! ”

Thus, in a fashion worse than tragic, was Victor Emmanuel called to the throne. He was then twenty-nine years of age, a broad-shouldered, thick-set young man of middle height. The chief characteristics of his homely face were a stubborn jaw and a snub nose. His ruddy cheeks, full beard and fierce moustache were commonplace enough, but his flashing dark eyes redeemed his face, and, with his strong jaw, gave it purpose and character.

The ignominy of his first royal duties furnished him with a bitter recollection throughout his life ; he had to patch up an armistice with Austria preparatory to a peace which entailed the payment of a heavy war indemnity by his unhappy country. His first entry as King into his capital of Turin had to be made secretly and at night, so roused was the people against the crown by the failure of the war. A chill silence was his greeting on his first appearance in public ; and stormy scenes followed the announcement in Parliament of the terms of peace he had been forced to accept.

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The occupation of Piedmont by 20,000 Austrian troops was a sore blow to Piedmontese pride, and the assembly ungenerously blamed the young King for the humiliation.

He took a short way with them; the Parliament had been elected in a frenzy of war fever, and he dissolved it. He consulted Massimo d'Azeglio, who consented to form a ministry, though the task was a distasteful one. Having undertaken it, Azeglio carried it through with touching loyalty, and the universal respect in which he was held did much to smooth the ruffled relations between people and King. It was Azeglio who suggested the catchword that was later in the mouths of all his subjects:

"There have been so few honest kings in this world," suggested the Minister, "that it would not be a bad idea to initiate a series."

"What, must I play a part of honest king?" asked the smiling monarch.

"Why not? Let us hold that a king, as well as an obscure person, has one word only, and by that he must stand."

"In that case the profession seems an easy one."

“And the Ré Galantuomo, we have him now,” replied Azeglio.

The phrase caught the King’s fancy, and when he was asked to sign the census papers in Turin he filled the column headed Profession with the words “Ré Galantuomo.”

He had to dissolve another Parliament before he could settle the terms of peace, and then his hands were free for the necessary work of consolidating the constitution. At once he encountered the clerical opposition which was to last throughout his life. The existence in Piedmont of an ecclesiastical Court, which assumed jurisdiction over all ecclesiastics—and the number of these was legion—constituted a legal anomaly that had to be swept away. By every means available the clergy fought against the proposal; they even influenced his own mother to throw her great power with him into their side of the scale. He listened, but was unmoved in his decision. He tried to persuade the Pope to act as mediator between him and his bishops, but failed; he still stood firm. When his people grasped the fact that he put justice before the threats of the Clergy and the entreaties



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

of his mother, they began to understand and love him.

This affection deepened as the breach between the King and the clerics widened, as it did, because of fresh legislation further restricting the enormous influence of the clergy. An incident which entirely turned popular feeling to his side arose out of the death of one of his Ministers, Santarosa, a devout Catholic. He was refused absolution because of his position in the Ministry, and his dying hours were embittered by the violence of a priest, who actually penetrated to his bedside and disturbed his last moments with vulgar abuse. A special envoy to the Pope sent from Turin to complain of this outrage received no satisfaction; and so the quarrel intensified in bitterness. The death of Santarosa made way for Cavour in the cabinet; later the illness of Azeglio left him the only man to carry through the anti-clerical laws. Cavour remained the master spirit of Italy from that day until his untimely death.

Coincident with the climax of the quarrel with the priests came a series of domestic afflictions whereby the King lost his mother, his wife, and his only brother in the space



of a few months. In the worst days of his grief his clerical enemies did not scruple to proclaim publicly from their pulpits that the curse of God had descended upon the man who had impiously bereft Mother Church of her privileges. The sympathy of his subjects was manifested in countless ways in those sorrowful days, and in part atoned to him for the obloquy that was showered upon him. His courageous dealing with the religious houses was not affected in any way by his bereavements, and the moral that was drawn from them ; but his sufferings at this period aged him both in appearance and manner.

It was Cavour who suggested that travel might heal the wounds of his spirit and planned his visits to London and Paris. He failed to touch the imagination of London, but in Paris he achieved an instant popularity. During this visit to Paris the Emperor put to him the famous question that haunted Cavour during the years to follow : " And what can we do for Italy ? "

If any understanding of his real qualities were still lacking among his subjects and the people of the rest of Italy, it came with the approach of war, and with its actual

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outbreak. The King flung himself into the business of war with an ardour that warmed every heart, "Now I shall sign nothing more," he said with a great sigh of relief, when he had executed the deed which made Prince Carignano Regent. His presence on the battlefield inspirited his own soldiers and those of his allies as well ; the difficulty was to keep him out of unnecessary danger. An incident of the battle of Palestro has recently been recalled by the Third Regiment of French Zouaves, a detachment of which encountered the King on the battlefield, riding forward to almost certain death. The Sergeant and Corporal held the bridle of his horse, while the men fell thick around him, and in spite of his remonstrances detained him there. After the battle was won, he had himself made Corporal of the regiment, which has ever since borne his colours on the regimental flag. When Italy declared war on Austria in 1915, the Regiment offered to his grandson, King Victor Emmanuel III, the rank of Corporal, an honour which was accepted in the spirit in which it was tendered.

The first meeting of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi took place at Milan after

the battle of Magenta, and the King at once established the hold on Garibaldi's respect and affection which he retained ever afterwards, to the great advantage of the Italian cause. Mazzini grumbled that with the King Garibaldi was as weak as water ; a bluff word and a pat on the back and Victor Emmanuel had his own way. It was well that somebody could deter the General from the ill-considered enterprises to which his own rashness and the fanatical republicanism of Mazzini sometimes prompted him. For Garibaldi the King could do no wrong, and others had to accept the blame for slights which need never have occurred, had the King chosen to prevent it.

The end of the war defined the relations between Cavour and the King. The peace made by Napoleon at Villafranca was not acceptable to Cavour, who urged the King not to be bound by it ; but Victor Emmanuel's common sense was superior to the resentment of his great Minister. Cavour's remonstrances, delivered in the overbearing manner he assumed when he was deeply in earnest, and had to encounter opposition, gave the King a genuine cause for offence. The greatest mutual respect

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characterized their intercourse for the future, and usually a close agreement of opinion on essential points. But there was understanding without affection, or even any great liking. The King grumbled that when involved in any public ceremony where Cavour appeared, he always felt like the tenor at the opera, leading on the prima donna for acclamation ; a humorous grumble, but expressive of the relations between the two men. For Cavour, with his ingrained and reasoned belief in the system of constitutional monarchy, there was only one great man in the realm, the King. And on these terms a close and effective working arrangement was maintained by two great men, between whom there was no instinctive liking.

In Victor Emmanuel, as in the three of his subjects who, in their different ways, all lived to the same end as he, the yearning for a free and United Italy was a single life purpose. It peeps out of every one of his public utterances, it rings triumphantly in the last speech he made from the throne before his triumphal entry into Rome. "With Rome as the capital of Italy, I have fulfilled my promise and crowned the



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enterprise that, twenty-three years ago, was initiated under the auspices of my magnanimous father. Both as a monarch and as a son my heart thrills with a solemn joy, as I salute all the representatives of our beloved country gathered here together for the last time and pronounce the words: Italy is free and united, it only depends on us to make her great and happy."

"We are at Rome, and here we remain," he said when he took up his quarters at the Palace of the Quirinal. And at Rome he was buried; his tomb may be seen in the Pantheon, one of the few buildings of ancient Rome spared by the ravages of time. To such posthumous honour he was justly entitled, as to the simple but majestic epitaph: "To the Father of his Country."



# ITALY AND FRANCE



## CHAPTER X

### ITALY AND FRANCE

**F**RANCE, which had waded to freedom through streams of blood, possibly sympathized more vividly with Italy in its struggle against the thralldom of the absolutists than any other country of Europe. The French people felt concretely what was at best an abstraction with the men of England; their hearts told them what the English drew from their reasoning powers. The vicissitudes through which France passed in the half century following Waterloo made the expression of this sympathy fitful and unreliable. If it constantly existed, it was not able to find constant expression.

It was checked, too, by the very factor which intensified British sympathy with the Italian nationalists. France was the most Catholic country, as Great Britain was the most Protestant. The French Republic sent its troops to Rome to crush the Roman Republic at the bidding of the Pope; afterwards the French Emperor

garrisoned the city to preserve the Pope's temporal power from the onslaught of the apostles of Italian Unity. To this course that strange man Napoleon III was driven by the clericalists of France, whose support maintained him on his throne, even when his own sympathies and his own self-seeking spurred him on to strike a blow for Italian Liberty.

"What can we do for Italy?" he had asked Victor Emmanuel when the King visited Paris. He spoke as the successor of the great Napoleon, a rôle dear to him at every period of his life. He dreamed then, as he was always dreaming, of tearing up the treaties of 1815, in the making of which Austria had taken so important a part. He knew that the gulf between Austria and Sardinia was slowly widening, as it had been doing ever since 1849. But he knew also that the Pope was in close sympathy with the Italian princelings, who were maintained on their thrones by Austrian bayonets. He further knew that King Victor's visit to him was paid at the close of a long wrangle with the Pope, and that Pius IX had set his face against Sardinia, the single state of Italy that was ruled by constitutional methods.

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The dilemma in which he was placed reflected itself in his behaviour and conversation. The ministers most in his confidence were quite unable to gauge from his acts and speech what his real attitude toward Italy might be. His hints of one day were contradicted by his jests of the next. This enigmatical conduct was interrupted by the attempt made upon his life by the Italian Orsini. It came in the middle of a sustained effort by Cavour to reach some arrangement whereby French support might be assured for Italy against Austria; and it had the effect of putting back the clock by at least a year.

Europe was all the more startled to hear that Cavour and Napoleon had met "accidentally" in the summer of 1858 at Plombières, and that in diplomatic circles great importance was attached to the meeting. The bluff King could not conceal his excitement and satisfaction. "Next year," he said soon after this meeting, "I shall be King of Italy or plain M. de Savoie." Cavour endeavoured to impose some discretion upon him, but the significant conduct of Napoleon himself afforded even a better clue to a Franco-Italian understanding. At the diplomatic reception he held on January 1,



1859, he blurted out a plain warning to the Austrian ambassador, remarking to him with painful distinctness, "I regret that our relations are so strained; but tell your sovereign that my feelings for him remain unchanged."

Victor Emmanuel was all excitement, for a few days later he was to open Parliament, and he wished to make a speech that would prepare Italy. After a long discussion with Cavour, a speech was drafted and sent to Napoleon for approval, and he added one or two significant phrases to it. As delivered by Victor Emmanuel, with loud emphasis and flashing eyes, its concluding sentences rang through Italy like a clarion call. "Our country, small in territory, has acquired credit in the Councils of Europe, because she is great in the idea she represents, in the sympathy that she inspires. The situation is not exempt from perils, for, while we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of anguish that comes up to us from many parts of Italy. Strong in concord, confident in our good right, we await with prudence and resolution the decrees of Divine providence."

The effect of this speech, and especially of the reference to the "cry of anguish," is

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described by Massari, a Neapolitan exile who was present in the Chamber and heard it. "Senators, deputies, spectators, all sprang to their feet with a bound, and broke into passionate acclamations. . . . The face of the ambassador for Naples was covered with a gloomy pallor. We poor exiles did not even attempt to wipe away the tears that flowed copiously, unrestrainedly, from our eyes, as we frantically clapped our hands in applause of that King who had remembered our sorrows, who had promised us a country."

And now the young patriots throughout Italy began to prepare for a great struggle. Quietly they gathered together what money they could, and quietly they slipped away from the prince-ridden principalities of the centre and south to the rallying point in Piedmont. The alarm of the Powers was shown by the anxiety of Great Britain to keep the peace, and by her reiterated proposals for a conference to discuss the affairs of Italy. The Austrian Government would hear of no conference at which Sardinia was represented, and demanded that the army in Piedmont should disarm. Cavour refused to disarm unless Austria should first set the example, and the situation grew more strained.

Another meeting took place between Cavour and Napoleon, where a bargain was undoubtedly made. The betrothal of the King's daughter to Prince Jerome Bonaparte followed, though the Emperor disclaimed any significance for the alliance. Now Cavour strove by all the means in his power to put Austria quite in the wrong ; Great Britain, on the other hand, worked incessantly to prevent an open breach. As a last effort, the proposal was made by England that both Austria and Sardinia should disarm simultaneously, and this proposal Cavour could not shelve. He had to accept, with anguish of soul ; but Austria had already issued her ultimatum, and the die was cast for war.

In the campaign that followed the allied arms of Italy and France proved irresistible. The Austrians were defeated at Montebello on May 20, and again at Palestro on May 30. The disaster of Magenta followed on June 4, and the victors entered Milan in triumph on June 8. Then came the great double battle of Solferino and San Martino, on June 24, and the power of Austria in Italy was crushed for ever. This was the moment chosen by Napoleon, who had vowed to free Italy " from the Alps

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to the Adriatic," to ask for an armistice. It was granted, and signed at Villafranca on July 12. Victor Emmanuel was to have Lombardy, the banished princes were to return, the Austrians were to retain Venetia, and the Pope was to undertake certain reforms in administration.

This armistice will always remain the most insoluble of all the puzzles afforded by the tortuous career of Napoleon. Venetia lay at the feet of the Allies; the task he had undertaken now remained easy of full accomplishment; and in that moment he turned back when complete victory was in his grasp. "Poor Italy!" sighed the King, resigning himself to the inevitable. He signed the peace of Zurich "as far as it concerns me" and faced the resignation of Cavour and his colleagues the more philosophically because Cavour had overstepped all bounds in remonstrance with him.

But Tuscany and Parma were not so resigned. The provisional governments set up in these Duchies after the flight of their rulers would not hear of the return of those minor notabilities. They took plébiscites of the people, who were practically unanimous in their demand for annexation by Victor Emmanuel. Cavour recovered from



the nervous anger that had prostrated him in time to resume the reins and go to negotiate with Napoleon terms for his consent to this annexation. The terms exacted by the French Emperor went far beyond the original bargain; for he demanded the city of Nice as well as Savoy, which had been the extent of the original agreement.

Cavour had to be content to be squeezed, and took all the responsibility for the bargain; a heavy responsibility as it afterwards proved, for Garibaldi never forgave him bartering away his native city of Nice. Abuse was showered upon Napoleon by the Party of Action for the robbery, as they termed it. But it remains to be said that the greater part of Savoy was certainly more French than Italian, and even Nice cannot be claimed as geographically a part of Italy, in the same sense that Venice is an integral part of the Kingdom.

The demand made by Napoleon, and his insistence on its fulfilment, destroyed the Italian faith in his disinterestedness, and the persistence with which he maintained his troops in Rome during the years that followed did not make for good feeling between the two nations. But Italy could not afford to cherish any grudges, especially



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as Napoleon and the Pope were not on good terms personally. The Emperor consented to stand by while the Italian army invaded and annexed Umbria and the Eastern Marches, stipulating only that Rome should not be touched. He had also refrained from interfering with the passage of Garibaldi from Sicily to Naples, though for that Italy had the good offices of Great Britain chiefly to thank.

The Emperor Napoleon was also the intermediary between Austria and Italy when the transfer of Venetia back to its own country was effected. There was little glory for Italy in the means by which this territory was regained, since it was the direct outcome of a war in which the Italians by no means distinguished themselves, whether by land or sea. In a word, Venice was regained because the ambitions and interests of Prussia permitted it.

In 1866 the rivalry between Austria and Prussia for premier position among the Teutonic races came to a head, and war being inevitable, Prussia was cunning enough to see how terribly Austria would be hampered if Italy attacked her at the same time. An alliance was thereupon concluded between the two nations, Italy undertaking to help

Prussia to reform the constitution of Germany. Prussia, on the other hand, promised to restore Venetia to Italy, and the Trentino as well, if that territory should be actually in the occupation of Italy when hostilities were concluded. As soon as the pact was made, Austria attempted to seduce Italy from her alliance by an offer of Venetia there and then, and this offer was made through the Emperor Napoleon. But Italy was no treaty breaker, and the temptation was set aside.

War began in June 1866, and on the 24th of that month the Italians met their ancient enemies on the field of Custozza, the scene of a former defeat. The battle was contested by both sides with the utmost obstinacy, but eventually the Italians were forced to retreat. Their allies proved more effective in the field, and the advantage of their needle-guns made the battle of Sadowa one of the most decisive of the nineteenth century. The Austrians were quick to recognize that they were in a hopeless plight, and the cession of Venetia to Napoleon followed quickly on the battle of Sadowa. Once more Napoleon strove to separate Italy from her allies, but without success. The

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Italians were averse from any dealings with him, and were also eager to wipe away the stain of Custozza.

Popular feeling was at this time much roused by the inactivity of the Italian fleet, and Admiral Persano, who commanded it, was ordered to attack Trieste. Instead of doing so, he turned his ships against the fortress of Lissa, on the Istrian coast, and as a consequence some of his vessels were badly damaged. While they were in this plight, they were attacked by the Austrian squadron from Pola, under Admiral Tegethoff, who gained a notable victory in the face of the superior strength of the Italians. Lissa was fought on July 20, and on July 26 an armistice between Prussia and Austria brought the hostilities to a close, without giving the Italians a chance to regain their lost laurels.

In spite of the terms of the alliance, Prussia made a separate peace with Austria ; though Bismarck, in referring to Italy's loyalty to her ally, said in the Prussian Parliament, " We had a powerful support in the immutable loyalty of Italy ; a loyalty which I cannot sufficiently praise, or too highly appreciate."

## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Italy's hesitation in making peace arose out of her claim to Trieste and the Trentino, a claim which Prussia would not endorse ; nor would Napoleon. In a letter to the King, the Emperor of the French expressed his anxiety to hand over Venetia as soon as possible ; and as there was no object in remaining obdurate, Italy accepted the province and signed the peace of Vienna on October 3, 1867.

After the fall of the Emperor, the relations between the two countries showed a sense of strain. The Catholics of France disliked intensely the destruction of the temporal power, and there was talk in Paris of restoring the Pope. The Italians, on their side, could not readily forgive Mentana. Italy began a Tariff war on France, although the bulk of Italian securities were held in France ; Paris retorted by a display of financial hostility, which sent Italian securities reeling down the market, to the great disadvantage of Rome, where a building boom collapsed, and heavy financial stringency followed. Breaking point was almost reached when the French proclaimed a protectorate over Tunis, with results which are detailed in another chapter.

# THE STORY OF THE THOUSAND





## CHAPTER XI

### THE STORY OF THE THOUSAND

WHILE the negotiations for the unification of Central Italy were in progress, Garibaldi was gathering round him at Genoa a band of devoted volunteers eager for fresh work in the active redemption of Italy. The objective he had in his mind was the Papal territory, and that also was the goal of the Mazzinists, who supported him with money and weapons, working through Dr. Bertani. He was only deterred from this objective by the King himself, who sent for him and represented the objections to an attack upon the Pope, when so much was already at stake. Touched by the confidence of the King, and persuaded by the strong reasons he advanced, Garibaldi consented to abandon his enterprise in that direction, much to the disgust of the Mazzinists.

But the General had not long to wait for

a good chance of spirited action. In the spring of 1860 Sicily rose; in Palermo, Messina, and Catania the standard of revolt was raised once more. Garibaldi was not going to be deterred this time, though indeed no one really wished to stop him. "I know," he wrote to the King, "that I embark on a perilous enterprise. If we achieve it, I shall be proud to add to your Majesty's crown a new and perhaps more glorious jewel, always on condition that your Majesty will stand opposed to counsellors who would cede this province to the foreigner, as has been done with the city of my birth."

Garibaldi's right hand man was Bixio, whose men would follow him anywhere in spite of his arrogance of manner and surprising disciplinary methods. Some of his command once complained to Garibaldi of his treatment of them. He had beaten them with the flat of his sword and had swept aside all objection with the declaration, "I command here. I am everything. I am Czar, Sultan, Pope. I am Nino Bixio. I must be obeyed like God. If you dare to shrug your shoulders or to think of mutinying, I will come in my uniform, sabre in hand, and cut you to pieces."

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Garibaldi listened in patience, and then remarked that it was all very sad; with whom did they wish to serve? "With Nino Bixio, of course," came the answer in chorus, and then they burst into shamefaced laughter when they realized the meaning of their admission.

A more prudent counsellor, if not such a whirlwind fighter, was Cosenz, who followed Garibaldi and joined him in Sicily. He, and his colleague Medici, proved invaluable advisers to the General, and served their country well by restraining him from some of the imprudences to which his impetuous nature and his fiery comrades prompted him.

The rank and file of the redshirts were young men of the cities, students, young professional men, merchants, shopkeepers and mechanics. They were actuated by two motives: their passionate desire for the freedom of Italy, and their supreme confidence in their leader. The expedition sailed from Quarto, near Genoa, in May 1860.

The attitude of the Sardinian government toward it can best be judged by Cavour's instructions to Admiral Persano, in charge of the Sardinian fleet. Should Garibaldi land at an Italian port he was to be arrested;

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the fleet was to keep between the expedition and the warships of Naples. To which Persano telegraphed the brief reply, "I understand."

The landing was safely effected, and the city of Palermo, strongly held by a garrison of 20,000 men, was captured almost before Europe had realized what was in the wind. The redshirts swept across the island, reinforced by the revolting Sicilians, and in a few weeks Garibaldi had won the great battle of Milazzo, and had driven the foreigner out of Sicily. Reinforcements under sound leaders such as Medici and Cosenz had reached him from the North, and he now prepared to cross to the mainland and complete the conquest of the kingdom of Naples.

By this time reactionary Europe was seriously alarmed. A French squadron lay off Gaeta, and held the key to the position. Napoleon proposed that Great Britain, which had warships at Sicily and Naples at the time, should co-operate to prevent Garibaldi from crossing; but Great Britain saw no reason to interfere. The crossing was made, and on September 7, 1860, Garibaldi made a triumphant entry into



## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

Naples. The country rose to greet him ; King Francis fled to the stronghold of Gaeta, and that city and Capua alone remained to the Bourbon throne. For some reason Napoleon kept his fleet off Gaeta, thus hindering the reduction of the place ; in the end the ships were only withdrawn after strong representations made by the British government.

Garibaldi caused himself to be proclaimed Dictator of the realm of Naples, and Mazzini, who had remarkable influence with him, made his way to the city to meet him. The position was a critical one ; the promptings of Mazzini fully accorded with Garibaldi's own wish to retain the Dictatorship until he could proclaim King Emmanuel as King of Italy in Rome itself. The stubbornness of Capua and Gaeta alone prevented him from attempting to put this suicidal plan into practice.

Cavour knew that an attack upon Rome would certainly involve the intervention of France, which still garrisoned the city. With difficulty he obtained the tacit approval of Napoleon to an expedition against the Eastern Marches and Umbria, the condition being that no attempt should be made on

Rome itself. The Sardinian army was hurried South, and the Papal volunteers, under General Lamoricière, went out to meet them, the French troops remaining behind in Rome. Many of these papal troops were brave Irishmen, whose enthusiasm for the Church had taken them to Rome to help in the defence of the Temporal power; in fact, the Pope's army included the devout soldiery of all nations. Well led by Generals Fanti and Cialdini, the northern army inflicted a disastrous defeat on them at Castelfidardo, and the Pope was shorn of Umbria and the Eastern Marches.

Meanwhile the Neapolitan army had rallied, and waited for the Garibaldians in a strong position on the river Volturno. In spite of considerable accessions in numbers, Garibaldi had much the smaller army, and his later volunteers were not of the same quality as those who had followed him through the campaign in Sicily. But nothing could stand against him; Francis saw his last hope gone, and again fled for refuge into Gaeta. The battle of Volturno was possibly the most brilliant of all the exploits of Garibaldi in the field, and it was as decisive as it was brilliant.

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And now the King travelled South to meet the Dictator; the victorious army of the crown and the victorious volunteers rapidly converged. The position was a piquant one; all Europe held its breath, and wondered what Garibaldi would do. He supplied the answer in a proclamation to his troops, couched in the generous vein that was so characteristic of him: "Our brothers of the Italian army, commanded by the brave General Cialdini, are fighting the enemies of Italy and conquering. The army of Lamoricière has been defeated by these brave men. All the provinces subject to the Pope are free. Ancona is ours. Our brave soldiers of the Northern army have passed the frontier, and are now on Neapolitan territory. We shall soon have the good fortune to press these victorious hands."

Next he took a plébiscite of the people of Naples and Sicily, who were asked to return the answer "Yes" or "No" to the proposal "The people wishes for Italy one and indivisible, with Victor Emmanuel as constitutional King and his legitimate descendants after him." The voting was: Yes, 1,734,117; No, 10,979.

## ITALY AND THE

Then Garibaldi issued another proclamation, his farewell as Dictator of Naples :—

“ To-morrow, Victor Emmanuel, the elect of the nation, will break down the frontier which has divided us for so many centuries from the rest of the country, and listening to the unanimous voice of this brave people, will appear amongst us. Let us worthily receive him who is sent by Providence, and scatter in his path, as the pledge of our redemption and our affection, the flowers of concord, to him so grateful, to us so necessary. No more political colours, no more parties, no more discords. Italy one, under the King Galantuomo, who is the symbol of our regeneration and the prosperity of our country.”

Before he laid aside his power, a dramatic meeting took place in a valley of the Vajrano Hills, between King and Dictator. Garibaldi was attired in the picturesque fashion of his campaigns, with a red shirt and a bright handkerchief wound round his head under his broad-brimmed hat. As the King rode forward to meet him he swept off his hat and cried aloud : “ I hail the first King of Italy.” The two men clasped hands in a long grip.



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"How goes it, dear Garibaldi?" asked the King simply.

"Well, your Majesty; and you?"

"First-rate."

"Then," writes Trevelyan, "they rode on together, and the two staffs behind them, redshirts side by side with resplendent uniforms, crosses and cordons of honour. It was an epitome of the union of conservative and revolutionary forces that had crushed the obscurantists and expelled the foreigners. The constrained conversation between the two groups betrayed the heart-burnings on either side, and the grudging sacrifices that each was making for the other. But although there was cold politeness where there should have been enthusiasm, none the less that ride together was the making of Italy, and seen down history's lengthening vista, remains evermore a goodly sight."

The remainder of the conquest of Naples can be told in a very few words. Capua fell to General della Rocca, who accepted the help of Garibaldi's volunteers in the same spirit of generous patriotism in which it was proffered by their leader, who was ill. Gaeta, too, fell to Fanti and Cialdini, and



nothing remained but the entry of the King into Naples. But the triumph was marred by an unfortunate insult to the Garibaldians, which Cavour appears to have foreseen and striven to prevent. He had written to Farini, the member of his cabinet in attendance on the King, "If Garibaldi's army acclaims the King it must be treated well. Woe to us if we show ourselves ungrateful to those who have shed their blood for Italy. Europe would condemn us."

It was arranged that on November 6 the King should review the Garibaldians at Caserta; that the Generals should be presented to him, and that the men should march past. The volunteers were accordingly drawn up, but the King did not attend, nor did he send any apology; nor was any explanation of his absence offered at any future time. It can only be supposed that he had yielded to the influence of General Fanti, who, as representing the Royal army, never strove to conceal his hostility to the volunteers.

On the same day there fell to General Cialdini the thankless task of persuading Garibaldi to enter Naples riding in the same carriage as the King. Garibaldi used fear-

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ful language about Fanti and especially about the innocent Cavour, but finally gave his consent. Accordingly, on November 8, 1860, the King made his entry into Naples to the plaudits of a wildly enthusiastic mob. With him in the carriage was riding Garibaldi, who shared in the ovation. Both men were out of temper, and the whole occasion was spoiled by the lack of courtesy that had been displayed by the professional army men.

Garibaldi, who had given his King a new realm, would accept nothing in return. An estate for his elder son, a position as royal Aide-de-camp for his son Ricciotti, a dower for his daughter, a castle and a yacht for himself, were in turn refused. He sent his secretary to a friend to borrow a small sum of money ; this he laid out in the purchase of seed wheat and a case of dried codfish. He booked his passage on the little tramp steamer *Washington*, said his farewells to his friends, and returned to the simple life of the island of Caprera.



## ROME AT LAST





## CHAPTER XII

### ROME AT LAST

WHEN Victor Emmanuel sent his troops to invade the Papal territory in 1860, he did so under an understanding made with Napoleon III, after a great deal of difficulty. Rome was held by a French garrison, and it was the intention of Napoleon that his troops should stay there, since the support of the clerical party in France kept him on his throne. As far as it is possible to understand the Emperor, it may be surmised that his own sympathies were with the Italian Nationalists, and that he would gladly have seen an end of the temporal power of the Pope, whom he personally disliked. But the genuine feeling of one section of his subjects, and the superstitions of another, to whom Pius addressed his periodical threats of excommunication, left Napoleon no choice.

He ventured as far as he could possibly

go when he retained his troops in Rome, and left the Papal troops the task of meeting the northern army under Fanti and Cialdini. The Pope submitted with a very bad grace to the loss of Umbria and the Eastern Marches, just as the Nationalists bore the continued occupation of Venetia by Austria with sullen impatience. A resolution of the Italian Parliament, that Rome should be the future capital of the kingdom, did nothing to relieve the apprehensions of the Pope, which were continually excited by the plans of the Party of Action, which regarded Rome as a necessary possession of a freed Italy.

Cavour, with his customary penetration, was content to leave the Roman question to the healing influence of time, but spared no effort to advance what he considered the first step in the right direction, the evacuation of the city by the French garrison. To that end he was moving when death intervened to prevent his realization of his last ambition for Italy: a free Church in a free State. It had been his plan gradually to accustom the Catholic nations to the idea of a Pope who should be solely a spiritual ruler, divested of a temporal power which

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had proved only an obligation and a responsibility.

Freed from his retaining hand, the Party of Action began at once to plan a conquest of Rome on lines similar to that of Naples. Garibaldi was ready, as he was ready for any dangerous work on behalf of his loved Italy. Ratazzi, the Prime Minister, was understood to be sympathetic; the men and the money were available. What easier than to repeat the coup of 1860? But Ratazzi was no Cavour, the necessary understanding with the French had not been made, and Garibaldi's first move elicited a threat from the Emperor that he would occupy Naples unless the Italian government took active steps to crush the revolt. Thus it became necessary for the King to issue a proclamation branding as traitors all men who exceeded the limits of the law and were guilty of aggressive action, and to send an army to Rome to check the rising.

The climax was a sorry one; the royal army encountered the Garibaldians at Aspromonte, shots were fired, and Garibaldi himself was wounded in the foot, and taken prisoner. The mishap to Garibaldi was a very genuine source of sorrow to the King,

who saw, moreover, that a solution of the Roman question had been indefinitely delayed. All attempts to end a painful situation by diplomacy broke on the rugged obstinacy of the Pope himself. The King offered to assume a great part of the papal debt, and finally arranged with Napoleon for the gradual withdrawal of the French garrison. But Pius met all overtures with his invariable *non possumus*, and busied himself with organizing a papal army to replace the departing French garrison.

In 1866 the nationalists were once more stirred to their depths by the recovery of Venice, and the impatient Garibaldi again began to contemplate action. He was arrested on the very first indication of a move on his part, but was allowed to go to Caprera without so much as his parole being exacted from him. Napoleon had kept his engagement, and the French garrison had been gradually withdrawn; but this seemed to Garibaldi all the better reason for trying once more to plant the national flag on the Capitol. In the days of the Republic he had received an appointment as generalissimo of the Roman army, an appointment which had never been can-



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celled; and which he chose to regard as still existent. His son was already gathering a force of volunteers; and nothing short of actual restraint could keep the old warrior away from Rome.

As Roman generalissimo he now issued a proclamation to his volunteers, having evaded the watch set on him at Caprera and arrived on the mainland. "If these my volunteers, champions of liberty and Italian Unity, wish to have Rome as the capital of Italy, fulfilling the vote of Parliament and the nation, they must not put down their arms until Italy shall have acquired liberty of conscience and worship, built upon the ruin of Jesuitism, and until the soldiers of tyrants shall have been banished from our land."

The French had already landed, and were armed with modern chassepots. Garibaldi's volunteers were ill-disciplined and worse armed, and bore no comparison with the famous legion of 1859. The armies met at Mentana, where there was a terrible slaughter of Garibaldians. Some fought bravely enough, the rest "ran like rabbits," as Garibaldi himself testifies. He disbanded what remained, and crossed the frontier



to be arrested and confined until the excitement was over. Thus the French returned once more to Rome, and Victor Emmanuel seemed to be farther away from the final goal than ever before. The King himself wrote a fine sincere letter to Napoleon, imploring him to withdraw his soldiers from Rome even at the risk of a break with the clerical party, but his advice was rejected. For the next generation Mentana remained a grievance against France among Italian ultra-radicals; indeed, its memory has only been wiped away in these latter days.

Napoleon and the temporal power were destined to perish by the same stroke. A Mazzinist attempt at revolt in 1869 gave the French yet another excuse of continuing their occupation of the city, and a still greater disappointment ensued from the sitting of the Vatican council in the same year. In his speech from the throne the King had expressed a pious hope that some expression reconciling religious and civil life would be issued as a result of its convocation.

The proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility came as a sardonic comment

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on this hope, and illustrated the wide gap that existed between Church and State and Italy.

But now France was plunged into war with Germany, and all other considerations were lost in the struggle. The French garrison was withdrawn from Rome as a matter of course, but the King waited for the downfall of France before availing himself of the opportunity created for him and Italy. The proclamation of a French Republic left no reason for further delay. Once more Victor Emmanuel approached the Pope with a letter, appealing to him "with the affection of a son, the loyalty of a King and the soul of an Italian." Pio Nono replied that if he must yield to force, he must; but never would he yield to injustice.

Force, therefore, had to be employed. A note was issued to the Powers, giving assurance that the spiritual province of the Pope would be in no way attacked, and that his liberty and personal independence were assured. General Cadorna crossed the frontier, and on September 19, 1870, his soldiers camped under the walls of Rome. A semblance of resistance was set up, in accordance with the orders of the Pope;

but at the first breach in the walls the white flag was shown and the King's army entered the city. To the defenders all the honours of war were accorded, but they were made to lay down their arms and disperse. A plébiscite was then taken of the citizens; the vote of the Romans was:—

For the King . . . . . 40,785

For the Pope . . . . . 46

The position of the Pope was defined by the Law of Papal Guarantees, consideration of which occupied the last session of the Italian Parliament at Florence. By this law the person of the pontiff was made sacred and inviolable, and offences against it were made punishable by the same penalties as offences against the person of the King himself. An endowment of over £1,200,000 a year for the Pope was provided, and it was enacted that royal honours should be paid to his Holiness; the permanent use of the Vatican, the Lateran and Castel Gondolfo were ensured for him. Meetings of the Papal Conclave and Œcumenical Councils were to be protected from external violence, perquisitions or seizures of papal documents were inhibited, and envoys to the Pope were given the same prerogatives

## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

as ambassadors to the King. The spiritual freedom of the clergy and the clerical colleges was guaranteed, and other protections for the Cardinals and minor Ecclesiastics were devised.

Pius IX had always refused to treat with the King ; he persisted in his attitude. He declined to accept the income provided for him, and " preferred to rely upon the generosity of his children in every land, rather than to become the pensioner of those who had stripped him of his civil sovereignty " (Clery, *The Making of Italy*). He bequeathed his attitude to his successor, for having outlived Victor Emmanuel by nearly a month, he died suddenly on February 6, 1879. The first public utterance of Leo XIII, his successor, showed that he persisted in the claim to civil sovereignty.

The first Italian Parliament in Rome met on November 27, 1871 ; and the meeting provoked a demonstration of remarkable enthusiasm. The opening sentence of the King's speech from the throne, " The work to which we have consecrated our life is accomplished," was greeted with an outburst of cheering that, heard outside, was taken up and repeated until it echoed through



## ITALY AND THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

the utmost streets of Rome. "After long expiatory trials," continued the King, "Italy is restored to herself and to Rome. Here, where our people, scattered for so many centuries, find themselves for the first time reassembled in the majesty of their representatives; here, where we recognize the home of our thoughts, everything speaks to us of grandeur, but at the same time everything reminds us of our duties."

So, at last, a full national life began for Italy.



# ITALY AND GREAT BRITAIN



## CHAPTER XIII

### ITALY AND GREAT BRITAIN

**D**URING a quarter of a century Great Britain had strained every nerve to shatter the power of Napoleon. Money was expended with a freedom exceeded only by the outlay of the Great War of to-day ; and without the financial aid and the sea power of Great Britain, Europe would assuredly have been enslaved. When the day of settlement came, the Italian question did not bulk very large among the problems to be disposed of, or most assuredly Metternich would never have been able to reduce Italy to " a geographical expression." But when Great Britain realized the injustice that had been done to Italy, the country overflowed with indignation on the one hand, and with sympathy on the other.

The withdrawal of the Duke of Wellington from the Congress of Verona accentuated

the disagreement of the country with the doctrine of interference; Great Britain emphatically laid down the principle that no country had a right to interfere in the internal affairs of another. That very protest was a notable check to absolutism, the foremost of the evils under which Italy was suffering.

Great Britain was also the most Protestant country. She was Protestant with an abhorrence of Popery that is hardly comprehended in these days of religious tolerance. The nation was ready enough to believe that Italy was suffering from the civil power of the Church of Rome, and to sympathize with the struggle against an influence, the retarding effect of which was possibly exaggerated—it certainly ran no danger of being under-estimated—by the Britons of the early Victorian era.

Nor was Great Britain long kept in the dark as to the real state of affairs in Italy. Those were the days when Englishmen completed their education by taking "the Grand Tour," and when young men of ultra-liberal opinions were sent to travel on the Continent in order to mellow their views. Many of them became more radical than ever as

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a consequence of what they saw, and among these were most of the bright spirits who made the literature of the last century in England. Shelley, Keats, and Byron all saw with their own eyes the anguish of an enchained Italy, and they spoke and wrote of what they saw and knew. Byron was himself a Carbonarist, and his experience lost nothing in the telling. A later generation of English literary men, among them Meredith, Swinburne, and the Brownings, realized even more keenly the epic of freedom that was being lived and fought in Italy.

English sympathy with Italian Nationalism, English hatred of Popery, and British indignation at the repression and cruelty exercised by Austria were all qualified by another British aspiration—the earnest desire for peace. The country was launched on the wave of industrial development that has made the English the richest people in the world; the drain of the long and costly wars was still remembered, and Great Britain desired above all things to keep the peace, and that other nations should be restrained from bringing about anything like another general European war. And in this desire



may be found the explanation of Canning's resolve to discourage by every means in his power interference by one nation in the internal affairs of another ; but to stop short at actual war.

This policy toward Italy was consistently carried out. Disapproval of the oppression of the Italians was freely manifested ; individual Britons showed their sympathies by actual participation in Italian movements for freedom, and were not checked by their government ; London became a city of refuge for the exiles who had dared and lost ; but Great Britain never actively intervened on Italy's behalf.

Probably this moral support never approached closer to actual intervention than after the visit paid to Italy by Mr. Gladstone in 1851. He reached Naples just before the trial of the patriot Poerio and forty of his friends, and was induced by Sir James Lacaita to attend the trial. All other aspects of Italy lost interest for him, he followed the trial through all its turnings, and afterwards obtained the permission of the authorities to visit the condemned men in the prisons to which they were sent. He incorporated all he saw in the most scathing

## UNHOLY ALLIANCE

indictment of any government ever made by so great a man as he.

The burning invective of his letters to Lord Aberdeen rang from one end of Europe to the other. "It is not mere imperfection, not corruption in law practices, not occasional severity that I am going to describe ; it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the power appointed to watch over and maintain it. It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, written and eternal, temporal and divine ; it is the wholesale persecution of virtue when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object ; it is the awful profanation of public religion, by its notorious alliance in the governing powers with the violation of every moral law under the stimulants of fear and vengeance ; it is the perfect prostitution of the judicial office which has made it, under veils only too threadbare and transparent, the degraded recipient of the vilest and clumsiest forgeries, got up immediately and deliberately by the immediate advisers of the Crown, for the purpose of destroying the

peace, the freedom, aye, and even if not by capital sentences, the life of men among the most virtuous, upright, intelligent, distinguished and refined in the whole community.

“ Law, instead of being respected, is odious. The governing power, which states of itself that it is the image of God upon earth, is clothed in the view of the overwhelming majority of the thinking public with all the vices for its attributes. I have seen and heard the too true expression used, ‘ This is the negation of God erected into a system of government. ’ ”

The evidence of his own personal experiences, which Mr. Gladstone used to support his charges, could not be contraverted, except in a minor detail here and there, by the government of Naples, which was ill-advised enough to issue a reply to the letters, involving itself in a rejoinder even more terrible in the intensity of its just wrath. The exposure was complete, but it did not even begin to be effective. The state of British opinion was so vehement that Cavour hoped for solid support ; he even thought that he had obtained a promise of it from Clarendon in an interview in

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Paris. In this respect he was disappointed, and finally had to rely upon France for the substantial aid which England would not grant.

One must go back to the chronicles of the time to realize in what utter detestation the people and government of Great Britain were held by the Continental powers because of the sanctuary afforded there to the exiles from every country. This feeling reached an unimagined pitch of bitterness when the attempt made upon the life of Napoleon and the Empress Eugénie by Orsini was traced to its hatching place in London. The French General Gudin gave expression to the feeling in his prayer that "the infamous den where such infernal machinations are hatched may be forever destroyed. The country demands it with loud voice, and the army would shed for it the last drops of its blood."

Popular sentiment in Great Britain was not affected by such bombast, and when the Austrian General Haynau, a man with a very bad record, ventured to visit London, he was mobbed and hustled alarmingly by the draymen of Barclay's brewery, to the ill-concealed joy of a lot of people, who ought to have known better than to show it, includ-



ing Lord Palmerston himself. But the Queen and her Consort, and the conservative Lord Derby, looked on this Continental hostility with open alarm, and a certain lack of sympathy with Italy was apparent in the official attitude.

A change was brought about by the defeat of Lord Derby's government, for in the new administration the chief men were Palmerston, Lord John Russell and Gladstone, all warm sympathizers with Italy. Cavour was in the lobby of the House when the Derby administration fell, and astonished those present by the excitement he displayed. He threw up his hat and then embraced an unfortunate French *Chargé d'Affaires* who happened to be standing next him, to the great scandal of the undemonstrative Englishmen who witnessed the scene, and thought he had gone mad. But he realized all that the change of government meant to Italy; and truly it meant a great deal. It meant in the first place the withdrawal of the British and French representatives from the Court of Naples, as a protest against the state of affairs described by Mr. Gladstone. They did not return until the death of King Ferdinand, the evil Bomba detested of all



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Sicilians. Also, when Napoleon had cooled in his enthusiasm for Italy, and proposed to prevent Garibaldi from crossing from Sicily to the mainland for the conquest of Naples, he could get no support from Great Britain.

"If France chose to interfere," wrote Lord John Russell, "we should merely disapprove her course, and protest against it. In our opinion the Neapolitans ought to be masters either to reject or to receive Garibaldi." That was sufficient for Napoleon, who would not risk a course against which Great Britain would protest. But Lord John Russell was to go further in the way of moral support. The wretched King of Naples had behind him all the great absolute powers, and the annexation of the kingdom by Italy seemed to involve general intervention. At this stage Lord John wrote a dispatch to Sir Charles Elliott, the British Minister at Naples, which was published for the benefit of Italy. "It appears," he began, "that the late proceedings of the King of Sardinia have been strongly disapproved by several of the leading Courts of Europe. Her Majesty's government must admit that the Italians are the best judges

of their own interests. It is difficult to believe, after the astonishing events we have seen, that the Pope and the King of the Two Sicilies possessed the love of their people. When a people from good reason takes up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties. Therefore Her Majesty's government can see no sufficient ground for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Russia and Prussia have visited the acts of the King of Sardinia. Her Majesty's government will turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospects of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence."

In a letter written to Lord John, Elliott describes the effect of reading this dispatch to Cavour. "Cavour shouted, rubbed his hands, jumped up and sat down, then he began to think; and when he looked up there were tears in his eyes. Behind your dispatch he saw the Italy of his dreams, the Italy of his hopes, the Italy of his policy." And the Hon. Odo Russell, writing to his uncle from Italy, described how "thousands of people copied it from each other to carry

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it to their homes and weep over it for joy and gratitude in the bosoms of their families."

This was moral support, indeed, of a kind as valuable as any armed intervention could possibly be. The motive behind it was purely a disinterested one, and it is small wonder that Italy has ever since been able to believe in the chivalry of Great Britain, and to credit our race with benevolent intentions toward the smaller powers, even in the face of what occurred in South Africa at the end of the century.

Our later relations with Italy were tinged with our growing distrust of France. For instance, the Triple Alliance was only renewed in 1887, after we had made a separate arrangement with Italy to protect her coasts in the event of any naval attack being made upon them by France. Similarly Great Britain and Italy worked hand-in-hand in Egypt, and we even proposed to establish with Italy a *condominium* there, a proposal rejected by Italy, to her subsequent regret. Great Britain also encouraged the settlement of Italy on the shore of the Red Sea at Massowah, and so helped to lead the Italians on to their humiliation in Abyssinia; but

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the motive was never mistaken in Italy.

Up to the most recent times the relations between the two countries have been maintained on the most friendly and cordial footing. Diplomatic necessities have divided the interests of Great Britain and Italy on more than one occasion, but a frank recognition of the fact on both sides has always prevented even the semblance of international friction. Britain still retains her ancient sympathy and admiration for Italy, and Italy is not unmindful of the strong support that helped her through the darkest hours of her fight for nationality. Their present pact has given rise to no such national differences as arose from the Alliance to which Italy was bound in 1882 for a third of a century.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE





## CHAPTER XIV

### THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE

WITHOUT the moral support of Great Britain and the active assistance of France the Unity of Italy could never have been achieved. And yet when the plains of Europe were cleared for Armageddon, and the hostile ranks were arrayed, Italy was found bound by treaty to the side of her oppressors, her word given to abstain from striking a blow in the cause of freedom. Powers as weak as she once was had cast all into the melting-pot in the struggle for very existence ; the cause was as clear and as just as her own had ever been. The Italians themselves recognized that they were caught in the toils of an unnatural alliance.

The Triple Alliance was an unnatural alliance at the time it was made ; it required all the craft of Bismarck to make it appear anything else. He chose his time when Mazzini's fear that the Mediterranean would

become a "French Lake" was fresh, in its terseness of expression, in the mind of every Italian politician. He worked on that fear to detach the Italians from their brothers-in-arms of Marengo and Solferino. The opportunity occurred in Tunis, where a clash of Italian and French interests had caused ill-feeling between the two nations.

The part played in the disturbance by Great Britain was a curious one. A railway had been constructed in Tunis by a British Company, and attempts were being made to acquire it, both in Italian and French interests. A decision of the English Courts forbade it being sold to the French purchasers, and eventually it was bought by the Italian bidders. Incidentally it may be said that it was asserted at the time that the price paid was many times greater than its value.

The Bey of Tunis was himself antagonistic to the French, a fact which was promptly turned to account. The antagonism was stretched to an open quarrel, and supported by Bismarck, the French seized Tabarca and Biserta. They were then in a position to compel the Bey of Tunis to accept a French protectorate. Italy was forced to look on

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in impotent rage, though feeling ran high throughout the peninsula. This was especially the case in Rome, where there were riots which forced the resignation of Cairoli, and brought Crispi into office. A culminating cause of hatred of France was a disturbance in Marseilles, in which a number of Italian workmen were murdered.

In these circumstances Bismarck suggested to Crispi that Italy should become a party to the alliance already existing between Germany and Austria. The terms of that treaty have never been officially published, but it is well understood that the main clauses of it were :—

“(1) Should, contrary to the hopes and against the sincere wishes of the two High Contracting Parties, one of the two Emperors be attacked from the side of Russia, the High Contracting Parties are bound to support one another with their entire forces, and, accordingly, only to conclude peace jointly and in agreement with one another.

“(2) Should one of the High Contracting Parties be attacked by another Power, the other High Contracting Party hereby binds himself not only to assist the assailant against his High Ally, but at least to preserve bene-

volent neutrality towards his High Contractant.

“ If, nevertheless, in such case, the attacking Power should be supported from the side of Russia, whether in the form of active co-operation, or of military measures which threaten the attacked, then the obligation of mutual support with the entire forces stipulated in Art. I. of this Treaty at once comes into force in this case too, and the war will then also be carried on jointly by the two High Contractants till the joint conclusion of peace.”

Bismarck's desire to make Italy a third party to this arrangement did not meet with unanimous support in Italy, although the feeling against France still ran very high. The Party of the Centre still leaned to France as against Germany and Austria ; the party which only existed to recover the Italian provinces still groaning under Austrian rule loudly denounced the proposal as an unnatural one. But popular feeling was behind Crispi. In 1882 King Humbert and his Queen visited Vienna, and it was well understood that Bismarck had triumphed.

In fact, on May 20, 1882, Italy had already subscribed to the Treaty for a term of five



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years, although the fact was not disclosed until the following year. When it came up for signature in 1887 it was revised on terms more favourable than before to Italy. Count Robilant had made a condition of signature that notes should be exchanged between Rome and London, the effect being that Great Britain should undertake to preserve the Italian coast from a French attack.

The Treaty was again renewed by Rudini in 1891, and by Prinetti in 1902. By this time the old friendship between France and Italy had been restored. The friendly relations established by the Franco-Italian commercial Treaty of 1899 were expanding into something like warmth of feeling between the two great Latin nations. For Italy the unnatural Alliance had outlived its purpose ; it is doubtful whether, under normal circumstances, it would have been renewed when it expired in 1914.

But before that time Italy had to suffer for her share in the pact. Involved in war for the possession of Tripoli, she found herself unable to operate against the Adriatic coast of her enemy Turkey. The section of the Italian fleet which had been dispatched to carry out these operations was commanded

by the Duke of the Abruzzi, now the High Admiral of the Italian fleet. When he received instructions to suspend operations, he replied in a telegram which led to his recall. Abruzzi remained in charge of the naval base at Spezzia for the rest of the war.

The necessity for an understanding between Italy and Austria on the Balkan question was renewed by the action of the League of the Balkan states, and the position created on the Albanian coast by their successful war with Turkey. At the end of the year 1912 the Treaty was again revised. It appears that until this period there were three separate instruments—Austria with Germany, Italy with Germany, and Austria with Italy—though all to the same tenor. According to an Austrian White Paper published at the end of May 1915, a single Treaty was signed on December 8, 1912. The same authority is relied upon for the text of the more important clauses.

“ Clause III.—In case one or two of the high contracting parties, without direct provocation on their part, should be attacked by one or more Great Powers not signatory of the present Treaty and should become involved in a war with them, the *casus*

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*foederis* would arise simultaneously for all the high contracting parties.

“ Clause IV.—In case a Great Power not signatory of the present Treaty should threaten the State security of one of the high contracting parties, and in case the threatened party should thereby be compelled to declare war against that Great Power, the two other contracting parties engage themselves to maintain benevolent neutrality towards their Ally. Each of them reserves its right, in this case, to take part in the war if it thinks fit in order to make common cause with its Ally.

“ Clause VII.—Austria-Hungary and Italy, who have solely in view the maintenance, as far as possible, of the territorial *status quo* in the East, engage themselves to use their influence to prevent all territorial changes which might be disadvantageous to the one or the other of the Powers signatory of the present Treaty. To this end they will give reciprocally all information calculated to enlighten each other concerning their own intentions and those of other Powers. Should, however, the case arise that, in the course of events, the maintenance of the *status quo* in the territory of the Balkans or of the Otto-

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man coasts and islands in the Adriatic or the Aegean Seas becomes impossible, and that, either in consequence of the action of a third Power or for any other reason, Austria-Hungary or Italy should be obliged to change the *status quo* for their part by a temporary or permanent occupation, such occupation would only take place after previous agreement between the two Powers, which would have to be based upon the principle of a reciprocal compensation for all territorial or other advantages that either of them might acquire over and above the existing *status quo*, and would have to satisfy the interests and rightful claims of both parties."

The seventh Clause which does not appear to have formed part of the Treaty originally signed between the three Powers was certainly added to it at some time prior to 1912. It was made clear by the publication of the Italian Green Book at the end of May 1915, that this clause or another reading of it was operative in the year 1911, when Italy was at war with Turkey. As shall presently be shown, it formed the basis of the long negotiations which preceded the final breach of the unnatural alliance and Italy's intervention in the European war.

AN INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL





## CHAPTER XV

### AN INDUSTRIAL REVIVAL

**R**OME and Venice being united to the Kingdom, the work of making a great nation out of a collection of states had to be begun. Italy was at least half a century behind other countries of Europe in such essential matters as means of communication, education, and industrial development. Railways had to be built on national lines, telegraphic communication had to be provided, schools had to be built and endowed, and the differences that separated the states had to be bridged. This is always an expensive and a troublesome business, involving many mistakes and much internal dissension, as new countries, even richly endowed, such as Australia and South America; have discovered.

In an old and poor country, as Italy was in the seventies, it must have been a heart-breaking task. The enthusiasm of the many, which reached a fervent pitch in the fight

to oust the foreign tyrant, cooled in the long struggle with ordinary material difficulties. Money had to be borrowed, at high interest, for all the expensive work of development that was so courageously undertaken. The nascent industries had to be protected by duties on imports, which added indirect taxation to the already heavy direct taxation necessarily imposed. The army had to be kept on a peace footing never dreamed of in a country so favourably situated as our own ; and in addition, a large fleet had to be provided to protect the inordinately long seaboard of the country.

The resources of the country did not supply any easy means of recouping all this preliminary expense. Italy is not endowed with valuable coal deposits, one of the easiest and most available assets of a country which has manufacturing ambitions. Its main industry in 1870 was agriculture ; and the standard products were such variable ones as fruit, olives, wine, silk, and the like. Wages were low and taxes high, the time of the worker was curtailed by military service. In 1870 Italy had a hard struggle before it.

On the other hand, the people was an

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industrious and a fruitful one, simple for the greater part in their habits, and devotedly patriotic. The compulsory military service did much to sweep away state barriers, since men of Piedmont, Umbria and Naples served side by side in the same regiments. No doubt one writing in the middle of the year 1915 has lost perspective, and can regard the ordinary peace sufferings of a nation too light-heartedly; doubtless it was a bitter price the Italian masses paid for the exalted ambitions of Italian statesmen; but the fact remains that Italy battled through.

Her head was appearing above water at the very time when such informed observers as Stillman and Thayer were inclined to lament the rapidity with which unity had been accomplished, and the lofty ideals and imperfect performance of the successors of Cavour. Writing in the nineteenth century in 1900, Signor Dalla Vecchia supplies his impression of the country, having visited it after an absence of some years.

“None who saw the Italy of thirty years ago can deny that enormous progress has been made in these thirty years, in every branch of industrial life. Industrial Italy

was then an unknown quantity in the world ; now it supplies almost all that is wanted for home consumption, and can also supply other countries with the very things she once had to import herself. The shipyards of Spezzia, Venice, Leghorn, Castellamare and Taranto can compete with the best shipyards in the world. The textile industry at Biella and Schio has reached the highest point of development. A Milanese firm, in competition with English and American firms obtained two years ago the order for a large amount of rolling stock for a foreign railway."

The wave of industrial development was then only beginning to rise, six years later a trade expansion without parallel in the history of any country in the world had to be recorded. The volume of Italian trade increased between the years 1890 and 1907 by 118 per cent.; in the same period the trade of Great Britain increased by 55 per cent., and that of the German Empire by 92 per cent. In view of the trade competition between Germany, Great Britain, and the United States during the period under review, these figures are doubly remarkable. In the years that have followed the expansion has been well maintained.



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One factor in this remarkable industrial progress has been the development of cheap electric power. The waterfall as a source of industrial wealth has been freely exploited to the great advantage of the whole nation ; in seven years the use of electric power increased fivefold, the import of coal doubled, and the output of steel quadrupled. The cost of lighting and travelling was enormously cheapened, and new industries, such as the manufacture of carbonate of lime in vast quantities, were added to the list of Italy's productive assets, owing to the exploitation of this source of potential power.

The old industries of the country revived and thrived amazingly. The silk industry of Milan far outstripped that of its quondam successful rival of Lyons ; the imports of raw cotton trebled in a few years. The artists who made beautiful glass in Venetia, and cut rare cameos or fashioned novel jewellery in Rome, took fresh heart with the rapidly expanding markets their wares again found. At Turin one of the greatest manufactories of motor-cars in the world was established ; at Naples vast works for making rolling stock for the world's railways.

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With a rapidly expanding trade, a rise in the wages of the workers may usually be expected. The industrial workers of Italy have benefited by the improved standing of the country's trade in two ways; their wages have risen and the conditions of their life have notably improved. Strikes have been frequent, as might be expected in a country where trade is good and the workers are organized. Their necessity, from the workers' point of view, may perhaps be established by mentioning the fact that the government, which does not permit strikes of its own employees, is notoriously the worst paymaster in the country.

In 1905 the government took over all the railways of Italy, a step followed immediately by great confusion, due to a mismanagement which has since disappeared. As in all countries where the railways are the property of the state, the people have now benefited by reductions in fares and other advantages not obtainable in countries where the railways are exploited in the interests of private enterprise.

Evidence of Italy's great industrial progress at the beginning of the twentieth century could be multiplied if it were necessary ;

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it is more to the point to examine the factors which conduced toward it, and its effect on national life in Italy. One glance at the map of Italy will reveal to the most casual observer that the country possesses, by virtue of its geographical position and advantages, remarkable trading facilities. The proportion of its sea-coast to its total area is greater than that of any country in the world, with the sole exception of Great Britain. The number of excellent ports is very large, and the position of Italy in the middle of the Mediterranean, on the direct trading route between West and East, and between North and South, is remarkably favourable for the exchange of mercantile commodities.

Another factor has been the inherited mechanical skill of the people of the cities. They are the direct descendants of men who were the greatest craftsmen of Europe, the heirs of an age when the artist was a craftsman, and many a humble craftsman was an artist. This skill in handicraft was only held in abeyance, or partly in abeyance, by the cruel tyranny of a foreign rule, and the senseless opposition of the Church to progress and education. With freedom and

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opportunity the Italian craftsman quickly came to his own again, his tireless industry furnishing him with another advantage in the world's race for industrial conquest.

But every country must pay a price for rapid industrial progress. Protective taxes fall heavily upon the masses, and especially upon the humble people engaged in agriculture. Where, as in Italy and Germany, the agricultural interests are further protected by food taxes, and by bounty systems such as that by which those countries fostered the cultivation of the sugar beet, the lot of the agricultural labourer is likely to be indeed a hard one. The bread riots which marked the end of the nineteenth century in the cities of Italy showed how hardly the food taxes pressed upon the humbler city dwellers. The lot of the rural dwellers was even harder, driving them to escape from their troubles by emigration on a scale which soon furnished Italy with a problem that has affected her foreign policy very potently.

## ITALY'S COLONIAL POLICY





## CHAPTER XVI

### ITALY'S COLONIAL POLICY

ONE of the German claims to world mastery is based upon the fruitfulness of the German people. Italy can lay the same claim to "a place in the sun," though she has never put it forward so blatantly, or endorsed it by methods so arbitrary and violent as those resorted to by the subjects of the Kaiser. In spite of a heavy infant mortality, due to the poverty and ignorance of the Italian peasant, the excess of births over deaths in Italy is higher than in most European countries, being surpassed only by that of Germany, Great Britain, and Scandinavia.

The time has gone by when the value to the state of the healthy individual citizen was neglected and ignored. It is universally recognized that the young man who finds his home surroundings inadequate to his energy and ambition, and who is enterpris-

ing enough to seek fresh fields for his talents, is the valuable citizen, more valuable than he who, placed in similar circumstances, remains dully apathetic and only grumbles at his disadvantages. No country is now content to lose the most enterprising of its humbler classes, and to see them sink their nationality and that of their children in the citizenship of some new and foreign country.

Up to the present time Great Britain has been the only fruitful country of Europe which has been able to avoid this drain of human wealth, due to emigration. Italy, on the other hand, has been proportionately the heaviest sufferer of any European country; and this in spite of the fact that the sentimental tie between the Italian emigrant and his native land is a very strong one. It is estimated that during the last generation 5,000,000 Italians have been permanently lost to the country, most of them absorbed by the United States of America and the South American Republics.

The Italian emigrant has most of the qualities that are of value in a new country. He is energetic and industrious, and accustomed to performing heavy work in a hot sun. He lives simply, and prefers to send

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home for his Italian wife and to rear his large brood of healthy children. He is cheap and temperate, and but for his fiery and quarrelsome nature, might be considered law-abiding. Therefore one expects to find Italian navvies wherever railway construction is going forward in any tropical or semi-tropical country. One is equally certain of finding Italian farmhands where fruit is being cultivated or vineyards are being tilled in a new land.

Situated as she was, it is doubtful whether Italy could have reached her present industrial position but for the safety valve of emigration. The Italian emigrant does not forget those he leaves behind him, and for many years remittances from the wanderers have been pouring into Italy, the total sum coming from workers in America alone being estimated at from £5,000,000 to £7,000,000 annually. How Italy's poor would have fared in her worst financial straits without these remittances from abroad, it would be hard to say.

It must also be remembered that the ambition of a large number of these emigrants is eventually to return home, with enough money to buy a small plot of land

and to settle down as farmers and fruit growers in their native land. Many of them have realized this ambition, so valuable to the State not only because of the new capital thus invested in Italy, but because of the new ideas and fresh methods that are introduced by these adventurers, which serve to leaven the too conservative lines on which agriculture is conducted by the stay-at-homes.

But the Italian government had to face the fact that only a small proportion of the emigrants returned to conditions of life so much harder than those they found in newer countries. Many more, when they were able, sent for their families, and thus stopped the flow of foreign money, in their instance, to Italy. There are large towns in the Brazilian state of Sao Paulo whose inhabitants are entirely of Italian origin. All are prosperous people, interested in the great coffee-growing industry of that state. They speak nothing but Italian, they have established communities where the customs and the very architecture are Italian. But their children are taught Portuguese in the schools, and are intermarrying with the Brazilians ; in other words, all these people



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have lost their Italian nationality. In the Argentine Republic, in Chile, and in California the same thing may be observed ; it is the sure sign that Italy is being drained of much of the best of its virile youth.

This emigration continued over a series of years at the rate of some half a million emigrants a year, and the very drain on the cheap labour of the country tended in some degree to better the condition of the agricultural labourer, and to increase his scanty wages. But there was no sign of slackening in the stream of emigration ; it rather tended to increase as the accounts of the prosperity of those who had emigrated were passed from mouth to mouth, and the returned wanderers repeated their glowing accounts of the plenty in which they revelled in other lands. Also it became impossible for those who wished to return to realize their ambition, and buy enough land on which to live in Italy, as they were able to live elsewhere. The Italian land is not very fertile, the holdings are small, and there is an abiding land hunger there which refuses to be satisfied.

But all the Italian emigrants did not fare so far from home as North and South

America. A very substantial number went no farther afield than to the North of Africa, where they thrived in all sorts of capacities. There are at present quite three times as many Italians as Frenchmen in Tunis, and the French candidates for Parliament are often constrained to address their electors in Italian. In Morocco, in Tunis, in Egypt and in Asia Minor there are flourishing Italian emigrants by hundreds. Trading relations with Italy were soon established by many of these places, and Italy began to discern a legitimate path for expansion across the Mediterranean.

The example of Great Britain, which is able to find an outlet for all its surplus population under the flag of the Empire, has shone brightly before Italian eyes, just as it has dazzled the imagination of France, and excited the cupidity of Germany. Italy could legitimately claim a sphere of influence on the Northern coast of Africa, for her long, vulnerable coastline rendered her particularly susceptible to attack from a quarter so close at hand, and so capable of being employed against her. Italian emigrants proved their suitability in a climate and upon a soil not unlike their own, and much

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African land hitherto waste was reclaimed and cultivated by them.

The inception of Italy's colonial policy antedated the great exodus to America, which served as an argument for persisting in it. How Italy fared in Tunis has already been told, and the bitterness of the loss was accentuated by the thought that a country to which legitimate claims could be advanced had now become but another outlet for the leakage of Italian citizens. Great Britain had played a part in the drama which resulted in the loss of Tunis, and Great Britain, with the best intentions in the world, encouraged Italy in a new colonial venture which ended in a painful humiliation.

Italian subjects had established very considerable trading interests in the African interior, penetrating the Egyptian hinterland, and Abyssinia and Somaliland as well. With the friendly feeling that has always characterized the relations of the two countries, there was no clash of interests between Great Britain and Italy in this territory, although French aspirations were concerning the British government in no small degree. Thus Great Britain encour-

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aged Italy to establish a trading port at Massowah, on the Red Sea, and invited her co-operation, which was granted, in the punitive expedition dispatched against the Mahdi. Later Italy was invited to assume joint control of the affairs of Egypt with Great Britain, an invitation which Italy saw fit to decline.

The establishment of the port at Massowah soon brought Italy into contact with Abyssinia; and a very pretty quarrel with the Negus of that country, and with the Bey of Tigre, the province in which Massowah was situated, soon developed. Italy annexed Tigre, and a force of Italian soldiers; penetrating inland as far as Dogali, were surprised, the result being that 500 of them were massacred. At this juncture a quarrel arose about the throne of Abyssinia, to which Menelik succeeded in establishing his claim, deposing Mangasha, with whom the Italians had quarrelled.

Menelik proved more amenable, and a treaty was drawn up and signed by Menelik. This treaty of Ucciali, it was claimed by Italy, constituted an admission by Menelik that Italy had established a protectorate over Abyssinia. The clause in dispute,



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according to the translation of it afterwards produced by Menelik, was worded as follows :—  
“The King of Abyssinia may make use of the government of the King of Italy in all matters whereon he may have to treat with other governments.” But the Italian claim was that the real wording of the clause was “agrees to make use” and not “may make use.”

In any case, Russia and France induced Menelik to resist the claim of a protectorate, and to resort to open hostilities. The Italians were ill prepared, and Crispi, who was in power, was deprived of the support of Germany, because he had recently given warning of his intention to denounce the Triple Alliance. The Italian army of 14,000 men was commanded by General Baratieri, who had already proved his lack of competence, and who had been superseded. Before his successor could arrive he attacked the much superior forces of Menelik, who had 80,000 men entrenched in a position almost impregnable at Adowah. The result was a sad blow to Italian prestige ; the Italians were utterly routed and left 6,000 dead on the battlefield. They had to accept Menelik's peace terms and withdraw to their



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port of Massowah. The court-martial to fix responsibility for the disaster of Adowah was held in secret and much uncertainty still surrounds the causes of the Italian reverse.

Although the Abyssinian fiasco deprived the colonial policy of Italy of any popularity it may have possessed with the masses, it did not deter the government from the hope of realizing its dreams of African expansion. One result of this colonizing failure, which had involved an expenditure of £20,000,000, was a cry for army reform. Reorganization was delayed, but it ultimately took place ; and at the same time the Italian Navy was considerably strengthened by the addition of new, up-to-date warships. These reforms, initiated in 1904, were spread over several years, with results that thoroughly justified their initiation, as was shown when Italy again became involved in war.

# THE WAR IN TRIPOLI



## CHAPTER XVII

### THE WAR IN TRIPOLI

THE events which led up to the sudden and dramatic demand by Italy that Turkey should evacuate Tripoli and Cyrenaica still remain a chapter of unwritten history. Events have moved so rapidly since September 1911 that the world has already forgotten with what dramatic suddenness that demand came. A rumour that Turkey was preparing to fortify the fine harbour of Tobruk, the nearest port to Egypt in Libya, had been faintly heard in some of the Chancelleries. It was accompanied by hints of German intrigue in Constantinople. The rumour has since been connected with Italy's startling demand.

The reasons on which the demand was based certainly did not refer to Tobruk. Italy stated that Turkey had exercised constraint upon Italian subjects in Tripoli for many years, and had been interfering with

Italian interests there for an even longer period. Therefore Turkey must evacuate the territory within twenty-four hours. Before Europe had recovered from the shock, Italy proceeded to enforce the demand, and on September 29, 1911, declared war.

The lack of finesse shown in these blunt proceedings was the subject of a general European outcry. Had Italy followed accepted traditions, the pretext would have been elaborately laboured; and a thick veil of excuse would have been thrown over the action. Nowhere was this lack of tact more publicly regretted than in Berlin, where there were solid reasons for objecting to so pointed an action. But Europe could do nothing for Turkey beyond expressing its surprise and grief, and unanimous undertakings of neutrality followed the first gasp of surprise.

Italy's very real interests in the Mediterranean were admitted on every side. She had viewed the annexation of Tunis by France without being able to prevent it, though her subjects there outnumbered those of France by three to one. She had seen great Britain established in Egypt, and Spain in Northern Morocco; she had watched



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the French flag move East along the African coast. She had been submitted to humiliating reverses in Abyssinia ; she had looked on with alarm while Austria appropriated Bosnia and a long stretch of the Adriatic coast, and had been resentful, but impotent. Germany had staked the Bagdad railway, and still the claims of Italy in the Mediterranean remained unsatisfied. Her claim to Tripoli was but an effort to restore the balance of Power in the Mediterranean, and was supported by the fact that Turkey, in eighty years' possession of the province, had done nothing to justify her position.

The war began with a spirited attack on the Tripolitan ports. Tripoli, Tobruk, Derna, Bengasi and Homs were in turn taken and garrisoned. A force of 10,000 men was landed at Bucamez, near the Tunisian frontier, and occupied the town of Zuara. Another force landed at Bu Sceifa, and captured Misrata. Between all these places stretched expanses of desert which were already as much in the hands of the Italians as of any one else, save perhaps a few bands of Arabs.

In December 1911 a pitched battle at Ain Zara was won by Italy, and in March

1912 another battle at Bengas. Two sharp battles were also fought at Zanzur, that of September 1912 proving the decisive battle of the war. The advance of a great army of Arabs and Turks was spotted by Italian aeroplanes, and General Ragni was warned in time to enable him to inflict a great defeat, with heavy slaughter, upon the Turks.

Even more marked was the supremacy shown by the Italians on sea. Early in 1912 the Italian fleet established an effective blockade of the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, and three Italian cruisers sank seven Turkish destroyers off Konfudah. In April the forts at the mouth of the Dardanelles were bombarded, and in July five destroyers entered the Straits, battered the forts, and escaped unscathed.

In the Aegean the Italian warships had it all their own way. The Italians captured and occupied the following Turkish islands: Rhodes, where the Turkish garrison of 2,000 men was captured by General Ameglio; Lindos, Stampalia, Icaria, Patmos, Leros, Calymnus, Cos, Nisyros, Episcopi, Syme, Khalki, and a number of smaller islands.

In actual battle the Italians lost only 300

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officers and 1,500 men, though the loss by disease, such as typhoid, was considerably greater than the loss by battle. A large mortality also ensued from the revolt of Arabs at Tripoli, the soldiers who perished in putting that down not being included in the official summary of battle losses. The cost of the war to Italy was officially estimated at £20,000,000.

The end of the war was hastened no doubt by the combination of the Balkan States against Turkey. It is equally true that the unbroken success of the Italian arms did much to stimulate the Balkan League to its strong action in 1912. Turkey was glad to give up Cyrenaica and Tripoli and to pay a small indemnity, in order to be free to attack the foe nearer home. Italy, for her part, undertook to aid Turkey to raise a loan in order to carry on this new and serious war.

Thus, in a few days over a year, Italy established an undisputed claim to the only portion of the Mediterranean coast of Africa which was free from European occupation, and re-established her claim to a voice in all matters affecting the Mediterranean Sea.

The whole conduct of the war was a justifi-

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cation of all that had been claimed for the new army and the reorganized navy. The Italian troops proved themselves hardy, courageous and disciplined; their officers were efficient and their generals prudent and resourceful. Every detail of organization was severely tested and found adequate. The transport was quick and well co-ordinated, the equipment good and up-to-date; the commissariat seldom lacking. It has already been said that the losses by epidemic disease were heavy, but a weakness in the sanitary arrangements noticeable in the earlier part of the campaign was afterwards remedied.

Italy started the war with a paper superiority at sea; but that superiority was not so marked as the ascendancy established as soon as the actual fighting started. The Italian fleet was at once proved a very real fighting machine, and good seamanship and shooting completed the work begun by liberal expenditure and judicious equipment. Thus both on land and sea Italy retrieved the Abyssinian debacle, and again took her place as a warrior nation.

Nor was she long in establishing her moral right to the territory so boldly acquired.



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Before the war was over the work of development had been begun. In one year she did more for Libya, as the new province is called in Italy, than Turkey had done in eighty. The ports were at once deepened and wharves were provided. In the oasis near Tripoli railway construction was initiated, and the water and sanitary arrangements of the town were improved. Schools were opened and the public services organized upon a European basis.

The work of road construction was begun from several of the more important centres of population, with a view to agricultural development. To the same end scientific commissions have since been appointed, in order that the beginnings of the new colony shall be founded on scientific lines. In the same way the problems of tropical disease have been gripped, with a view to combating those diseases on the spot and preventing their introduction into Italy.

Enquiry is still proceeding into the resources and possibilities of the country, of which one-fifth has already been pronounced agricultural land of excellent quality. Emigration under government auspices has already started, and the first experiments in



that direction are being carefully watched and fostered. In a word, Italy began at once to realize and fulfil her responsibilities to her new possession.

The diplomatic consequences of Italy's action were even more important. The two other signatories to the Triple Alliance resented the sudden ultimatum to Turkey very bitterly, especially Germany, whose influence at Constantinople had become paramount. Italy was soon to feel the effects of the displeasure she had given to her great allies. A section of the Italian fleet, commanded by the Duke of the Abruzzi, making a demonstration against the port of Pervesa, on the Albanian coast of the Adriatic, provoked a warm protest from Austria, on the ground that such action was a breach of Clause 7 of the Triple Alliance. In consequence of this protest, all action against this part of the Turkish dominion had to be suspended.

A second protest was to follow. On November 9, 1911, Baron Aehrenthal, the Austrian Foreign Minister, complained that an Italian fleet had been signalled in the neighbourhood of Salonica, where it had used searchlights ; and raised the point that

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any action against the coast of Turkey in Europe was a breach of Clause 7 of the Treaty. When Count Berchtold succeeded Baron Aerenthal, he pressed the point, urging that any Italian attack on the Dardanelles would contravene (1) Italy's undertaking to abstain from any act that would endanger the *status quo* in the Balkans; and (2) the very spirit of the treaty which was based upon the *status quo*.

Later an Italian squadron was bombarded by the forts at the entrance of the Dardanelles and replied, damaging the forts at Kum Kale. At this period in the war, Count Berchtold intimated that he considered the treaty had been violated, and that if the Italian government desired its freedom of action, the Austrian government would also resume its freedom of action.

In these contentions Austria had the support of Germany, and Italy had to give way. But Italy emerged triumphantly from the war in spite of the tacit opposition of her allies, and was able later to turn the tables on them in a way they probably did not contemplate at the time.



# WHY ITALY WENT TO WAR





## CHAPTER XVIII

### WHY ITALY WENT TO WAR

**D**URING the Tripolitan war, as it has been shown, Italy realized the disadvantages of the Triple Alliance. As Signor Salandra said in a speech delivered to the Italian Chamber on June 3, 1915: "It is impossible to estimate how many Italian soldiers perished, and how much treasure was expended by Italy through the impossibility of taking direct action against Turkey, which knew herself to be protected by our own allies from every attack endangering the vital spots in her armour."

Yet Italy renewed the Alliance at the close of that war; and the reason is not far to seek. Italian statesmen saw how events were shaping in the Balkans, they justly expected that at no distant date the whole Albanian coast of the Adriatic would pass from the possession of Turkey, and they wished to tie the hands of Austria, as their own had been tied. They had not to look very far back to the day when Austria had

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occupied Bosnia, and an Austrian army, commanded by General Conrad von Hoetzendorf, had been massed on their frontier with a sinister menace.

Soon after the pact was renewed the eventuality foreseen by Italy actually occurred. In July 1913, and again in October of that year, Austria discussed with her Allies an action against Serbia, to which Italy would not consent. "Impartial history will declare," said Signor Salandra in his speech of June 3, "that Austria having found, in July and October 1913, that Italy would be no party to her aggressions on Serbia, plotted with Germany to bring off a surprise." The opportunity was the crime of Sarajevo, the surprise was the bombshell of July 1914.

Prompt protest was made to Von Flotow, then German ambassador in Rome, by the Marquis di San Giuliano that Italy had not been informed of the steps taken by Austria, and that Germany had been concerned in keeping them secret. "Whereupon," as Signor Salandra revealed in a subsequent interview, "Von Flotow turned as red as a peony; for he was a gentleman."

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An actual account of this conversation is contained in the Italian Green Book in the shape of a note addressed to Vienna by San Giuliano. The Italian statesmen began by impressing on the German that, according to their reading of Clause 7 of the Treaty of Alliance, Austria had not the right to take such action without a previous agreement with her allies. If a European war should result it would be due to an aggressive act on the part of Austria, and Italy would not support her in it.

Austria having infringed the terms of the Alliance, Italy was entitled by the terms of Clause 7 to redress ; and they demanded for Italy the cession of the Italian provinces ruled by Austria, adding that if adequate compensation for the breach of faith were not forthcoming, the Triple Alliance must be shattered for ever. In the days immediately preceding the declaration of war, Italy also sought an undertaking from Austria that no territorial acquisition would be made at Serbia's expense. On July 30, Von Merey, the Austrian ambassador at Rome, told San Giuliano that Austria could not enter into such an engagement.

The point cannot be too strongly empha-

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sized that Austria held Italy close to the spirit and the letter of the Triple Alliance during the struggle for Tripoli; that Austria, by failing to consult Italy before her strong action against Serbia, infringed the very section of the Treaty which had been urged to Italy's detriment; that when her secret became known her attitude was one of defiance of Italy.

The beginning of the European war not only saw Italy preserving her neutrality; Italy was pressing for the redress of very genuine grievances inflicted by Austria. Rather than break her pledged word, Italy had shed the blood of her soldiers and poured out her treasure. Austria had broken the treaty in the very clause that had made it of value to Italy. Not only that; Austria had called to her colours men of Italian blood, though Austrian subjects; those who tried to escape military service were imprisoned and punished even more harshly. Wherefore Italy continued to press for redress. The territory demanded by Italy was more certainly an integral part of the Kingdom than Alsace and Lorraine are lost pieces of France. There Austria perpetrates the cruel misgovernment with which



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all Italy was once afflicted, and has striven, by all methods that tyranny could devise, to crush out of the unfortunate inhabitants their nationality. The methods employed by the Germans in Poland have been copied with a literal exactness that shows the source of Austrian inspiration. Italian teaching, Italian speech, and Italian progress have been sternly repressed. New colonists of Austrian and Slav nationality have been introduced, and have received grants of the land belonging to the original inhabitants. When war was declared the young men of these districts were sent to the front, and placed in positions where they could be massacred by Russian machine guns.

This Italia Irredenta has also been a constant menace to the safety of the Kingdom. It is strongly fortified by the Austrians, and constitutes a gateway to the heart of the Kingdom, through which, if Italy were unprepared, an invading army could find an easy way to Venice and Milan. For forty years a strong party has existed in the Italian parliament pledged to the ultimate recovery of these severed provinces of Italy. The sympathy, if not the support, of all Italy has always been theirs.



Italy demanded the cession of these provinces as the price of the wilful violation of treaty obligations by Austria.

The dispatches of Baron Sonnino, as published in the Italian Green Book, lay continued emphasis on this point. "Italy," he declares, "has an interest of the first importance in the preservation of the full integrity and of the political and economic independence of Serbia." Austria argued there had been no occupation of Serbia, or nothing but a momentary occupation. It was then the Italian Foreign Minister quoted to Count Berchtold his own protest against an attack on the Dardanelles during the Italian war with Turkey. Then Austria had declined to allow even the use of the searchlights of the Italian fleet on the coast of European Turkey, on the plea that such action was a breach of Clause 7. By this time the negotiations had become decidedly awkward for Austria, who could only reply by evasions, designed for the wasting of time.

The course of the negotiations reached an interesting point when Germany, alarmed at the prospect of Italy ranging herself against her former allies, undertook to obtain the redress that was sought. Germany's first

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step as intermediary was an important one—the dispatch of Von Buelow to Rome as German ambassador. Although in retirement at the time, Von Buelow was probably the most powerful man in the German Empire, next to the Kaiser himself. He had been Chancellor for nine years, the only German Chancellor worthy to be mentioned in the same breath as Bismarck. He left that office after exercising a restraint upon the Kaiser himself that could have been imposed by no other of the Emperor's subjects.

His relations with Italy were peculiarly intimate. He had married into one of the oldest and most influential Italian families ; his connections had immense influence in the Italian Senate. He himself had lived in Italy, since his retirement, for the greater part of the year ; he thoroughly understood the Italian disposition, the Italian people and Italian politics. His appointment to Rome was taken, and rightly taken, as an open sign of Germany's serious desire to avert Italian intervention.

The negotiations he undertook were backed by an offer made by Germany on behalf of Austria. The shape this offer ultimately took, according to a statement made to the

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Reichstag by the German Chancellor, was as follows :—

(1) That part of the Tyrol inhabited by Italians to be ceded to Italy.

(2) Likewise the western bank of the Isonzo, in so far as the population is purely Italian, and the town of Gradisca.

(3) Trieste to be made an imperial free city, receiving an administration ensuring an Italian character, and to have an Italian University.

(4) Recognition of Italian sovereignty over Valona, and the sphere of interest attaching thereto.

(5) Austro-Hungary to declare her political disinterestedness as regards Albania.

(6) The national interests of Italian Nationals in Austro-Hungary to be respected.

(7) Austro-Hungary to grant an amnesty for political and military crimes to natives of the ceded territory.

(8) The future wishes of Italy regarding general questions to be assured of every consideration.

(9) Austro-Hungary to give a solemn declaration concerning the concessions.

(10) Mixed committees to be appointed to supervise the details of the concessions.

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(II) Austro-Hungary not to require military service from natives of the territory to be conceded.

This cession of territory was only to be carried out at the conclusion of the war; and on the assumption, as Italy pointed out, that Austria was then in a position to make the concessions promised. As for the carrying out of these undertakings, Germany solemnly offered her own guarantee that the promises would be fulfilled in their entirety.

Italy pressed for the immediate cession of the promised territory, but could get nothing more than solemn promises. The nice point then arose: what was the exact value of a solemn promise made by Germany. With the example of the Belgian treaty fresh in his mind, Signor Salandra apparently did not value Germany's pledged word at a very high price. He certainly refused to accept the pledge, and was instantly confronted with a political crisis.

In his speech of June 3, 1915, Signor Salandra hinted that the crisis had been brought about by very dubious methods. It must be remembered that he was speaking under extreme provocation; that Italy



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had been denounced by the Kaiser as a traitorous nation which had broken its pledged word for British gold; that he himself had been subject to gross insult on the part of the German Chancellor, speaking to the Reichstag. In this light must be read his accusation of Von Buelow. "He (Von Buelow) supposed that Italy could be led from its path by some millions badly spent in influencing a few persons, out of touch with the soul of the nation; by attempted bargains with political men which, I hope and believe, have not been clenched. The suspicion is unavoidable that a foreign ambassador has meddled with the Government, the Parliament and the Country."

In any case the plot miscarried miserably, and Salandra and Sonnino were able to continue their demands for instant cession of the Trentino. Austria declared that it was materially impossible to surrender anything until peace had been made, and the negotiations finally broke down. On May 3 Baron Sonnino denounced the Triple Alliance, and Italy was at last free of obligation to her unnatural allies.







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